EUROPÆ SPECULUM:

OR A

VIEW or SURVEY

OF THE

State of Religion

IN THE

Western Parts of the World.

WHEREIN

The Roman Religion, and the Pregnant Policies of the Church of *Rome* to ſupport the ſame, are notably diſplayed; with ſome other memorable Diſcoveries and Commemorations.

By Sir *Edwin Sandys*, Knight.

Multum diuque deſideratum.

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A SURVEY OF THE *STATE* of *RELIGION*: IN THE Western Parts of the World.

To the most Reverend Father in Christ, JOHN WHITGIFT Arch-Bishop of CANTERBURY.

The Preface containing the Scope of all.

MY singular good Lord. Having finished now almost my intended Course of Travel, and drawing withal towards the expiration of the time prefined thereto; coming to cast up as it were the short Accompts of my Labours, employed chiefly (as was from the first my principal Design) in viewing the A STATE of RELIGION in these Western Parts of the World, and the divided Factions and Professions thereof; with their Differences in matter of Faith, in the Exercises of Religion,

ligion, in Government Eccleſiaſtical, and in Life and Converſation; what Vertues in each kind eminent, what eminent Defects, moreover in what Terms of Oppoſition or Correſpondence each ſtands with other, what Probabilities, what Policies, what Hopes, what Jealouſies are found in each part for the advancing thereof; and finally, what poſſibility and good means of uniting, at leaſtwiſe, the ſeveral Branches of the Reformed Profeſſors: If Unity univerſal be more to be deſired than hoped, in ſuch bitterneſs of Minds, and equality of Forces, as leaveth on neither ſide either Diſpoſition to yield, or Doubt to be vanquiſhed. In the midſt of theſe thoughts, the great Place which your Grace holdeth in our Church and Common-wealth, next under Her Majeſty, did adviſe me in Duty, as great Worthineſs joyned with Favour towards my ſelf in particular did preſs me, in humble and ſerviceable Affection, to yield unto your Grace, ſome account of thoſe my Travels in that kind, not intending to deliver a full Report of all thoſe Points, which would too much exceed the Proportion of any Letter to write, and perhaps of your Graces Leaſure alſo to read; but reſtraining my ſelf chiefly to ſuch Parts and Places as may ſeem moſt neceſſary for our Country to be known, and give your Grace alſo, in likelyhood, moſt content in recognizing them.

Of

Of the Roman *Religion.*

THE **Roman Religion**, which of all other Chriſtian, I ſuppoſe to have moſt manifoldly declined and degenerated from the truth and purity of that Divine Original, once ſo well publiſhed and placed amongſt them; as having in thoſe middle Times, when there were none to controul them, light into the Hands and Handling of ſuch Men as made their Greatneſs, Wealth and Honour, the very Rules whereby to ſquare out the Canons of Faith, and then ſet Clerks on work to deviſe Arguments to uphold them, ſeem notwithſtanding, at this day, not ſo corrupt in the very Doctrine, as in Schools they deliver it, and publiſh it in their Writings, where manifold Oppoſition doth hold them in awe, and hath cauſed them to refine it, as it is in the Practiſe thereof, and in their uſage among themſelves; wherein they are as groſs in a manner as ever: ſo that ſundry, whom the reading of their Books hath allured, the view of their Churches hath averted from their Party.

Of the Superſtitions and Ceremonies of the Church of Rome.

For to omit the endleſs multitude of **Superſtitions and Ceremonies**, enough to take up a great part of a Mans Life to gaze on, and to

peruſe; being neither uniform in all places, as ſome would pretend, but different in divers Countries; an huge ſort of them are ſo childiſh alſo and unſavory, that as they argue great Sillineſs and Rawneſs in their Inventors, ſo can they naturally bring no other than Diſgrace and Contempt to thoſe Exerciſes of Religion wherein they are ſtirring.

Of their Honour to Saints and Angels.

And to reſtrain my ſelf in this part, eſpecially to *Italy*, where the *Roman* Religion doth principally flouriſh; the communicating Divine Honour to Saints and Angels, by building Churches, erecting Altars, commending Prayers, addreſſing Vows unto them: by worſhipping their Images, going in Pilgrimage to their Reliques, attributing all kind of Miracles both to the one and other; hath wrought this general effect in thoſe Parts, that men have more affiance, and aſſume unto them a greater Canceipt of comfort in the Patronage of the Creatures, and Servants of God, than of God himſelf, the Prince and Creator. And touching the Bleſſed Virgin, the Caſe is clear, that howſoever their Doctrine in Schools be otherwiſe, yet in all kind of outward actions, the Honour which they do her is double for the moſt part unto that which they do our Saviour; where one doth profeſs himſelf a *Devoto*, or peculiar Servant of our Lord; whole

whole Towns ſometimes, as *Siena* by Name, are the *Devoti* of our Lady.

The ſtateſieſt Churches are Hers lightly, and in Churches hers the faireſt Altars; where one prayeth before the Crucifix, two before her Image; where one voweth to Chriſt, ten vow unto her; and not ſo much to her ſelf, as to ſome peculiar Image, which for ſome ſelect Vertue or Grace together, with greater power of operation of Miracles they chiefly ſerve, as the Glorious *Lady* of *Loretto*, the Devout *Lady* of *Rome*, the Miraculous *Lady* of *Provenzano*, the *Annunciata* of *Florence*, whoſe Churches are ſo ſtuffed with vowed Preſents and Memories, that they are fain to hang their Cloyſters alſo and Church-yards with them. Then as their Vows are, ſuch are their Pilgrimages. And to nouriſh this Humour; for one Miracle reported to be wrought by the Crucifix, not ſo few perhaps as an hundred are voiced upon thoſe other Images. Yea, their Devils in exorciſm are alſo taught (for who can think otherwiſe?) to endure the conjuring on them by the name of God and the Trinity without trouble or motion; but at the naming of our Lady, to toſs and torment, as feeling now a new force of an unreſiſtable power. Neither will I omit this no leſs certain, though leſs apparent; where one faſts on Friday, which they count our Lords Day in devotion to him, many faſt the Saturday, which there they count our Ladies Day, and in devotion to her. In all which

the

the People do but follow their Guides, who, as in the admeaſuring of Devotions by Tale on Beads, they ſtring up ten Salutations of our Lady, to one of our Lords Prayers; ſo themſelvs alſo in their Sermons, make their entrance with an Ave Mary; yea, and the ſolemneſt Divine Honour which I ſee in thoſe Parts, and which being well uſed, were to be highly renowned and recommended to the imitation of all worthy Chriſtians; namely, that thrice a day, at Sun riſe, at Noon, and Sun ſet, upon the ringing of a Bell, all men, in what place ſoever they be, whether Field, Street, or Market, kneel down and ſend up their united Devotion to the high Court of the World. This Honour is by them intended chiefly to our Lady, and the Devotion adviſed is the Ave Mary, and the Bell which rings to it, hath alſo that Name. And laſtly, their chief Preachers do teach in Pulpit, that the Church doth very well, whatſoever is found in Scripture, ſpoken of Chriſt the Son of God, to apply it to our Lady alſo, being the Daughter of God; that it is the Opinion of a Learned Man, and not contrary to the Catholick Faith, that though *Adam* had not ſinned, yet Chriſt ſhould have been incarnate to do our Lady Honour; that all the Angels and Saints of Heaven are Vaſſals unto them both, and caſt down their Crowns at the feet of both, and preſent mens Supplications kneeling unto both; that our Bond of Duty and Thankfulneſs muſt needs be

be exceeding to her; ſeeing it may be ſaid after a ſort, that man is more advanced in her than in Chriſt himſelf, ſeeing in Chriſt the nature of Man is exalted only, in our Lady, the very perſon alſo, which Chriſt hath not; Finally, that nothing paſſeth in Heaven without her expreſs conſent, that the Stile of that Court is *Placet Dominæ*: yea, they are taught that matters of Juſtice come more properly from him, and expeditions of Grace from her, and that ſome rare holy men have ſeen in viſion, that certain whom Chriſt would have condemned; yet in regard they were her Servants, by her interceſſion have been abſolved: ſo that no man need marvel if this Doctrine and Practiſe have diverted the principal ſtreams of Affiance and Love, from him, who had the only right unto them; and turned them upon thoſe, unto whom neither ſo great honour is due, nor ſo undue honour can be accepted.

Of their Liturgies.

Their Liturgies being not underſtood by the People, are not able to hold them with any ſpiritual content. For ſupply whereof, they confine them to the chamming of their Beads in the mean ſeaſon: which being ſo unſavory a food as it is (and they uſe it accordingly) when they are weary of it, they entertain the reſt of the time with talk and mirth, (which the Prieſts alſo themſelves at their

their leaſure forbear not,) not forgetting yet to ſhew devotion at certain Pauſes, by Spirits; wherein their outward geſtures are decent, reverent, ſignificant. Howbeit I ſuppoſe in general I may truly ſay, that the *Roman* Catholicks are the moſt irreverent and wandring at Divine Service that a man ſhall ſee any where, (the *Jews* only excepted; who are in that kind in all places incredibly intollerable:) though on the other ſide, that honour is to be yielded in the *Italian* Nation, that he is naturally not undevout, were his Devotion well guided and duly cheriſhed, and not ſtarved and quenched in the dark miſt of a Language, where he neither underſtandeth what is ſaid to him, nor yet what himſelf ſaith.

Of their Sermons.

The beſt part of their Exerciſes of Religion are their **Sermons**, wherein much good matter, both of Faith and Piety is eloquently delivered, by men ſurely of wonderful Zeal and Spirit, if their interior fervor be correſpondent to their outward vehemence. Howbeit they are ſometime mingled with ſo palpable vanity, that beſides other poverties, as forced allegories and unnatural interpretations, wherein they are frequent; even thoſe Legends of Saints and Tales, at which Children with us would ſmile; are their ſolemnly hiſtorized in their Cathedral Pulpits. But certainly

tainly what religiouſneſs ſoever is in the Peoples minds, may wholly or chiefly be attributed to their Sermons, whereto the better diſpoſed people do very diligently reſort: their Service being no other than as a Lamp put out, which bringing no light at all to the underſtanding, can neither bring any due warmth to the affection, the one being inſeparable from the other: and were it not that their Muſick, Perfumes and rich ſights, did hold the outward Sences with their natural delight; ſurely it could not be but either abandoned for the fruitleſneſs, or only upon fear and conſtraint frequented.

This one thing I cannot but highly commend in that ſort and order: they ſpare nothing that either **Coſt** can perform in enriching, or Skill in **Adorning the Temples** of God, or to ſet out his Service with the greateſt pomp and magnificency that can be deviſed, wherein notwithſtanding it were to be wiſhed that ſome diſcreeter men had been the Contrivers and Maſters of their **Ceremonies**, to have affected in them more ſtatelineſs, reverence and devotion, and to have avoided that Fryerly buſie baſeneſs and childiſhneſs which is now in them predominant. And although I am not ignorant that many men well reputed have embraced the thrifty opinion of that Diſciple, who thought all to be waſted that was beſtowed on Chriſt in that ſort, and that it were much better imployed upon

upon him in the poor, yet with an eye perhaps that themſelves would be his quarter Almoners: notwithſtanding I muſt confeſs, it could never ſink into my heart, that in proportion of reaſon, the allowance for the furniſhing out of the Service of God ſhould be meaſured by the ſcant and ſtrict rule of meer neceſſity, (a proportion ſo low, that nature to other moſt bountiful, in matters of neceſſity hath not failed, no not the moſt unnoble Creatures in the world;) and that for our ſelves no meaſure of heaping, but the moſt we can get; no rule of expence, but to the utmoſt pomp we liſt: or that God himſelf had enriched this lower part of the World with ſuch wonderful variety of things beautiful and glorious, that they might ſerve only to the pampering up of mortal man in his Pride; and that the Service of the High Creator Lord and Giver, (the outward Glory of whoſe higher Palace may appear by the very Lamps which we ſee ſo far off burning ſo glorioufly in it) only the ſimpler, baſer, cheaper, leſs noble, leſs beautiful, leſs glorious things ſhould be employed: eſpecially ſeeing even as in Princes Courts, ſo in the Service of God alſo, this outward ſtate and glory being well diſpoſed, doth engender, quicken, encreaſe and nouriſh, the inward reverence and reſpectful devotion which is due unto ſo Soveraign Majeſty and Power, which thoſe whom the uſe thereof cannot perſwade, ſo would eaſily by the want of it be forced to confeſs.

confeſs. For which cauſe I muſt crave to be excuſed by them herein, if in zeal of the Honour of the common Lord of all, I chooſe rather to commend the Vertue of an Enemy, than to flatter the Vice or imbecility of a Friend.

Of their Penance and Confeſſion.

But to return to the Church of *Reme*, and to come to the conſideration of their **Penance and Confeſſion**, out of which ſo great good is promiſed to the World, and the want whereof is ſo much upbraided to their oppoſites: I muſt confeſs, I brought with me this perſwaſion and expectation, that ſurely in reaſon and very courſe of nature, this muſt needs be a very great reſtraint to wickedneſs, a great means to bring men to integrity and perfection; when a man ſhall, as it were, daily ſurvey his actions and affections, cenſure with grief, confeſs with ſhame, cure by counſel, expiate with puniſhment, extinguiſh with firm intent never to return to the like again, whatſoever hath defiled or ſtained his ſoul. Neither doubt I but it had this fruit in the firſt inſtitution, and hath alſo with many at this day; yea, and might have been perhaps better reſtored in reformed Churches to its primitive ſincerity, than utterly aboliſhed, as in moſt places it is. Norwithſtanding, having diligently ſearched into the managing thereof in thoſe parts. I find that as all things whereof humane

humane imbecility hath the Custody and Government, in time (decaying by unsensible degrees) fall away from their first perfection and purity, and gather much soil and dross in using; so this as much as any thing.

For this point of their Religion, which in outward shew carrieth a face of severity and discipline, is become of all other most remiss and pleasant, and of greatest content, even to the dissoluteſt minds, the matter being grown with the common sort to this open reckoning; What need we refrain so fearfully from sin, God having provided so ready a means to be rid of it when we list again? Yea, and the worser sort will say, when we have sinned we must confess: and when we have confessed, we must sin again, that we may also confess again, and withal make work for new Indulgences and Jubilies, making account of Confession as professed Drunkards of Vomiting: Yea, I have known of those that carry a show of very devout persons, who, by their own report, to excuse their acquaintance in matters criminal, have wittingly perjured themselves in judgment; only presuming of this present and easie remedy of Confession: and other of more than ordinary note among them, who when their time of confessing was at hand, would then venture on those actions which before they trembled at; as presuming to

ſurfeit, by reaſon of Neighbourhood with the Phyſician; which Phyſician alſo himſelf is perhaps more often infected by the noiſom Diſeaſes which his Patient diſcloſeth, than the Patient any way bettered by the Counſel which the Phyſician giveth; though this ſhould be the very principal Vertue of that Act. But this muſt be granted to be the fault of the People; yea, a general Fault it is, and currant with ſmall controulment.

Howbeit, neither are the Prieſts or Pope to be more excuſed perhaps in their parts. The Prieſts will tell the Penitents that God is merciful, that what ſin ſoever a man committeth, ſo long as he continueth in the Church, and is not a Lutheran, there is good remedy for him. And for Penance, it conſiſteth ordinarily, but in Ave Maries and Pater Noſters, with ſome eaſie Alms to them that are able, and ſome little Faſting to ſuch that are willing; yea, I have known when the Penance for Horrible, and often Blaſphemy, beſides much other Leudneſs, hath been no other than the bare ſaying of their Beads thrice over; a matter of ſome hours muttering, and which in *Italy* they diſpatch alſo as they go in the Streets, or rid buſineſs at home, making no other of it, than as it is, two Lips and one Fingers work. But were the Penance which the Prieſts enjoyn never ſo hard and ſharp, the Holy Fathers plenary Pardon ſweeps all away at a blow. Now of theſe they have granted (and

this man especially) so huge a number, that I ween there are few Churches of note in *Italy*, which have not purchased or procured a perpetual plenary indulgence, by vertue whereof, whosoever at certain set yearly days, being confest, and having communicated (or as in some Pardons, having intent only to confess and communicate in time convenient) powers out his Devotions before some Altar in that Church, and extends his Hands in Alms to the behoof thereof (which Clause in all former Grants was expressed, but is now left out for avoiding of Scandal, but still understood and practised accordingly) hath forthwith free remission of all sin and punishment. Yea, if the worst fall out, that a man be so negligent as to drop into Purgatory, at the time of his Decease (which but by very supine negligence can hardly happen:) Yet few Cities are there, wherein there are not one or two Altars priviledged *Pro defunctis*, where for every Mass said, a Soul is delivered: and so great multitude of Artizans, must needs make their Ware cheap. I will not here warble long upon this untunable harsh String, neither will mention perhaps the fortieth part of what I have seen, much less will I now take up old rusty stuff out of the dead Dust and Darkness, wherein time and shame hath suffered it to rest: Only for example sake, and for verifying of what I have said, I will set down some of that which is in use at this day,

day, which is printed on their Church-doors, and proclaimed in their Pulpits.

In the **Eremitane** at *Padova*, their Preachers very ſolemnly publiſh a Grant of plenary Indulgence, from Baptiſm to the laſt Confeſſion, with twenty eight thouſand years over, for the time enſuing. The Pardon of *Alexander the Sixth*, for thirty thouſand years, to whoſoever before the Altar of our Lady, with Chriſt and her Mother, ſhall ſay a peculiar **Ave**, importing that our Lady was conceived without ſin; is printed anew in *Italy*, and pictured in faireſt ſort; but theſe are for ſhort times. At the **Sepulchre** of Chriſt in *Venice*, a ſtately repreſentation, whereon is written, *Hic ſitum eſt Corpus Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti*, (yet inferring no real preſence thereby, as I take it) with verſes annexed of *Conditur hoc tumulo*; there is hanging in a printed Table a Prayer of St. *Auſtin*, a very good one indeed, with Indulgence for fourſcore and two thouſand years, granted from *Boniface the Eighth*, and confirmed by *Benedict the Eleventh*, to whoſoever ſhall ſay it, and that for every day *toties quoties*; which yet is ſomewhat worth, that in a few days a man may provide for a whole million of Worlds, if they did laſt no longer than this hath done hitherto. In St. *Francis* Church at *Padova*, I heard a Reverend Father preach at large the holy Hiſtory of the Divine Pardon of *Siſa*, *Ab omni culpa & pœna*, granted by Chriſt in Perſon at our La-

dies ſuit unto St. *Francis*, extended to all ſuch as being confeſt, and having communicated ſhould pray in St. *Francis* Church there of *Sancta Maria de gli Angeli*; yet ſending him, for Orders ſake, to his Vicar Pope *Honorius*, that then was to paſs it, with many other Reapparitions, and delectable ſtrange Accidents of Solace and Content, to the pleaſant minded Believers; which Pardon is ſince inlarged by *Sixtus Quartus* and *Quintus* (who both were *Franciſcans*) to all Lay-brethren and Siſters, that wear St. *Francis Cordon* in what place ſoever. But to leave theſe Antiquities, and not to enlarge in Modern Grants, but to reſtrain to one Pope of renouned freſh Memory, even *Gregory the Thirteenth*, and ſome few of his Graces, he hath granted to the *Carmine* at *Siena*, for every Maſs ſaid there at the Altar of the Crucifix, the delivery of a Soul out of Purgatory, whoſe they liſt, the like to many other. To the *Carmine* at *Padova* more liberally, to every one that ſhall ſay ſeven Ave's, and ſeven Pater-Noſters before one of their Altars, on the Anniverſary Wedneſday in Eaſter Week, or elſe kiſs the Ground before the Altar of the Bleſſed Sacrament, with the uſual Prayers for exaltation of the Church, extirpation of Hereſie, and unity of Chriſtian Princes, both plenary Indulgence for himſelf, and the delivery of what Friends Soul out of Purgatory he pleaſeth. To the Fraternity of the Altar of the Conception of

of our Lady in the *Duomo* or Cathedral Church at *Padova*, confeſſing and communicating at their entry to that Society, full remiſſion of their ſins at the hour of their death, naming Jeſus with their mouth (or if they cannot) with their Heart. The like ordinarily granted to other Fraternities. To every Prieſt ſo often as he ſhall ſay five printed Lines, importing that he will offer up the precious Body of our Saviour, ſo many fifty years Pardon. Yet will I mention one alſo of the Grants of this Pope, among other innumerable, namely, to the Friars and Lay-fraternity of both Sexes of the *Carmine* at *Siena*; for every time they are preſent at their ſolemn Proceſſions, plenary Indulgence for all ſins paſt, and ſeven Years, and ſeven *Quadragena's*, or forty days over in ſtore for the time to come, and this for ever: with extent of like Grace to all other, that with their preſence ſhall honour thoſe Proceſſions, but to laſt for them no longer than the year of Jubilæ. Now beſides theſe, and infinite other of this ſtile, there are Indulgences more free, and leſs reſtrained, either for time, place, or duty to gain them: By Grant from Pope *John* the xxth. every inclining of the Head at the naming of Jeſus, gets twenty years Pardon: a matter in *Italy* no not this day unpractiſed. And to grace that Ceremony the more, I have heard ſundry of their renouned Divines teach in Pulpit; that Chriſt himſelf on the Croſs, bowed his Head on the right ſide, to

reverence his own Name, which was written over it. All Altars of Station (which are in very great number) have their perpetual Indulgences indifferent for all times. Sundry Croſſes engraven on the Pavements of their Churches, have Indulgence annexed for every time they are kiſt, which is ſo often by the devouter Sex, that the hard Marble is worn with it. The third and fourth Maſs (as they ſay) of every Prieſt, is a Preſervative or Ranſom of his Parents from Purgatory, yea, though they ſhould be ſung without ſuch intention, which cauſeth many wary men that would be ſure from Purgatory, to make ſome one or other of their Sons a Prieſt always.

The ſaying of the Beads over with a medal or other trinket of the Popes **Benediction** appendant, gets plenary Indulgence, and delivers what Soul out of Purgatory one pleaſeth. And it is lawful for one to ſubſtitute any other Medal in place of thoſe bleſſed ones, which ſhall have like force with them. A Clauſe of conſideration, and which ſerveth at this day more turns than one, and theirs eſpecially which paſs over Sea with double danger. All which, with many other like helps conſidered, I muſt confeſs, for my part, I am far from their underſtanding, who blaze ſo much the ſeverity of the **Roman Religion**, unleſs we accompt that a ſtrait Incloſure, which hath a Multitude of Poſterns continually open, to let falſe People in and out, day and night at their plea-

pleaſure, and rather incline to a contrary Conceipt, that preſuppoſing the truth of their Doctrine as it is practiſed, for a man that were deſirous to ſave his Soul at his dying day, and yet denying his Body no wicked pleaſure in his life time, no ſuch Church as that of *Rome*, no ſuch Countrey as *Italy*.

Of their Life and Converſation.

For I muſt ſpeak alſo ſomewhat of their **Life and Converſation**, but as briefly as may be; being a Theam I take very ſmall delight to handle, neither being of any great profit to be known. And yet it is known ſufficiently to all men, and too much to ſome, who not content to ſport themſelves with all *Italian* Impurities, proceed on to empoyſon their Countrey alſo at their return thither; that we need not marvel if thoſe rarer Villanies which our Anceſtors never dreamed of, do now grow frequent, and ſuch men whom they would have ſwept out of the Streets of their Cities, as the noiſom diſgrace and diſhonour of them, and confined to a Dungeon or other deſolate Habitation, do vaunt themſelves now, and with no mean applauſe, for the only Gallants and worthy Spirits of the World.

But to touch ſo many of their lives in *Italy* as ſhall be neceſſary for this purpoſe, and rather indeed the cauſes than the effects themſelves; it is not to be marvelled, if the Glory of their

Religion conſiſting moſt in outward ſhews, and the exquiſiteneſs in an infinity of intricate dumb Ceremonies; if their Devotions being not ſeaſoned with underſtanding requiſite, but prized more by tale than by weight of Zeal; if as the vertue of their Sacraments, ſo their Acts of Piety, being placed more in the very maſſie materiality of the outward work, than in the purity of the Heart, from which they proceed: It is not, I ſay, to be marvelled, though the fruits alſo of converſation be like unto thoſe roots; rather ſuch as may yield ſome reaſonable outward obedience to Laws, than approve the inward integrity and ſincerity of that Fountain from which they iſſue.

For although in their civil Carriage one towards another, they have eſpecial good Vertues, well worth the imitating, being a People for the moſt part, of a grave and ſtaid Behaviour, very reſpective and courteous, not curious or medling in other mens matters, beſides that ancient frugality in Diet, and all things not durable, which, to their great eaſe and benefit, they ſtill retain; and there be alſo among them, as in all other places, ſome men of excellent and rare perfection: yet can it not be diſſembled, but that generally the whole Country is ſtrangely overflown and overborn with Wickedneſs, with filthineſs of Speech, with beaſtlineſs of Actions; both Governours and Subjects, both Priests and Friars, each ſtriving, as it were, with other

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in an impudentneſs therein; even ſo far forth, that what elſewhere would not be tolerated, is there in high Honour; what in ſome other places, even a looſe Perſon, would be aſhamed to confeſs, there Prieſts and Friars refrain not openly to practiſe. Yea, if any man forbear the like, they find it very ſtrange, and hold integrity for little better than ſillineſs or abjectneſs. I cannot here forget the Saying of an *Italian* Gentleman of very good Quality, but in Faction *Spaniſh*, at my firſt entry into *Italy*; namely, that the *Italians* were excellent men, but for three Faults they had: In their Luſts they were unnatural; their Malice was unappeaſable, and they deceived the whole World: whereto, as for rare Corallaries in thoſe Faculties, he might have truly added, they ſpend more upon other than upon themſelves; they Blaſpheme oftner than Swear, and Murther more than they Revile or Slander.

Of their Lent.

Notwithſtanding this Teſtimony, I yield not only willingly, but gladly to them, (for what joy could it be, what grief ought it not to be, to the heart of any man, to ſee men fall irrecoverably from the Love and Laws of the Creator?) that at one time of the year, namely, at Lent, they are much reformed; no ſuch Blaſpheming nor dirty Speaking as before;

before; their vanities of all ſorts laid reaſonably aſide; their pleaſures abandoned; their Apparel, their Diet, and all things elſe compoſed to Auſterity and ſtate of penitence: they have daily then their Preaching with collections of Alms, whereto all men reſort: and to judge of them by the outward ſhew, they ſeem generally to have very great remorſe for their wickedneſs. Inſomuch that I muſt confeſs, I ſeemed unto my ſelf in *Italy* to have beſt learned the right uſe of Lent; there firſt to have diſcerned the great fruit of it, and the reaſon for which thoſe Sages at firſt did inſtitute it. Neither can I eaſily accord to the fancies of ſuch, as becauſe we ought at all times to lead a life worthy of our profeſſion; think it therefore ſuperſtitious to have one time wherein to exact or expect it more than other; but rather do thus conceive, that ſeeing the corruption of times and wickedneſs of mens nature is now ſo exorbitant, that an hard matter it is to hold the ordinary ſort of men at all times within the liſts of Piety, Juſtice and Sobriety; it is fit therefore there ſhould be one time at leaſt in the year, and that of reaſonable continuance, wherein the ſeaſon it ſelf, the uſe of the world and practiſe of all men, (for even the *Jews* and *Turks* have their Lents although different,) the commandment of Superiors, the proviſion of fit means to aſſiſt therein; and in ſum, the very outward face and expectation as it were of all

all things, ſhould conſtrain men how wicked and wretchleſs ſoever, for that time at leaſt to recall themſelves to ſome more ſevere cogitations and courſes; leſt ſin having no ſuch bridle to check it at any time, ſhould at length wax head-ſtrong and unconquerable in them; and that on the other ſide being thus neceſſarily inured for a while, though but to make a bare ſhew of walking in the paths of vertue, they might afterwards perhaps more ſincerely and willingly perſiſt, (as cuſtom makes hard things pleaſant,) or at leaſtwiſe return more readily again unto them ſome other time. And verily I have had ſundry times this cogitation in *Italy*, that in ſo great looſeneſs of life, and decay of diſcipline in thoſe parts, it was the eſpecial great mercy and grace of God, that the ſeverity of Lent ſhould yet ſtill be preſerved, leſt otherwiſe the floods of ſin growing ſo ſtrong and outragious, and having no where either bound or bank to reſtrain them, might plunge that whole Nation in ſuch a gulf of wickedneſs, and bring them to that laſt extremity, which ſhould leave them neither hope of better, nor place but for worſe. Yea, and was ſo far from thinking the inſtitution of Lent ſuperfluous, or the retaining of it unprofitable; that I rather enclined to like the cuſtom of the Greek Church, who beſides the great Lent have three other Lents alſo at ſolemn times in the year; though thoſe other neither ſo long, neither

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yet of ſo ſtrict and general obſervation. Two things are farther to be added in the honour of *Italy*. Their Nunneries ſeem for the moſt part greatly reformed of that they have been, and of that they ſtill are in *France* and other places; where their looſeneſs of government and often ſcandals enſuing, do breed them a reputation clean contrary to their profeſſion. And the reaſon why the Monaſteries and Convents of Friars are not reformed there alſo, is a fear, they ſay the Pope hath, that overgreat ſeverity would cauſe a great number to diſ-Friar themſelves, and to fly to *Geneva* in hope of more liberty, which he eſteemeth an inconvenience more to be ſhunned than the former miſchief. Another thing very memorable and imitable in *Italy*, is the exceeding good proviſion of Hoſpitals and houſes of Piety, for Old perſons enfeebled, for poor folk maimed or diſeaſed, for Gentility impoveriſhed, for Travellers diſtreſſed, for Lew'd women converted, for Children abandoned; which the devotion of former times hath founded and inriched, and this preſent age doth very faithfully and diſcreetly Govern. And if it were not for thoſe Houſes, in the number whereof, goodlineſs, great revenews, and good order, I ſuppoſe *Italy* exceeds any one Country in the world; although it be incomparably, alſo the richeſt Nation at this day of all the Weſt, by reaſon of their long Peace, and their Neighbours long Wars; yet conſidering

ſidering that the wealth there is ſo ill digeſted, and ſo unequally divided in the body thereof, (the infinite and ever ſucking veins of their Taxes and Impoſts, carrying all the blood to the higher parts, and leaving the lower ready to faint, to ſtarve and wither,) that it may be truly ſaid, the rich men of *Italy* are the richeſt, and the poor the pooreſt things that any one Country can yield again, both which in a well policied Eſtate were to be avoided; were it not I ſay for thoſe Houſes alone of Pi-ety, there would be more miſery to be ſeen in thoſe parts, (which all that notwithſtanding, is ſtill great and exceſſive) than perhaps, in the pooreſt peaceable Country of Chriſtendom whatſoever. Beſides thoſe Hoſpitals, they have alſo other *Monti pii*, for free or more-eaſie loan to the poor; ſeeing *Italy* as all other places is infected with Uſury.

Of their Eccleſiaſtical Government.

But to come now to the view of their Eccleſiaſtical Government, not ſo much as it is referred to the conduct of ſouls to their true happineſs, though this be the natural and proper end of that regiment; but rather as it is addreſſed to the upholding of the worldly power and glory of their order, to the advancing of their part, and overthrow of their oppoſites, which I ſuppoſe be the points they now chiefly reſpect: I think I may truly ſay, there

there was never yet State framed by mans wit in this world, more powerful and forcible to work those effects: never any either more wisely contrived and plotted, or more constantly and diligently put in practice and execution, insomuch that but for the natural weakness of untruth and dishonesty, which being rotten at the heart, abate the force of whatsoever is founded thereon, their outward means were sufficient to subdue a whole world.

Of their Head Assertions

Now as in every Art and Science there is some one or few first propositions or theorems, on the vertue whereof all the rest depend: so in their Art also they have certain **Head Assertions**, which as indemonstrable principles they urge all men to receive and hold. And those are, That they are the Church of God, within which great facility, and without which no possibility of Salvation: that divine prerogative granted to them above all other Societies in the world, doth preserve them everlastingly from erring in matter of Faith, and from falling from God: that the Pope, **Christs Deputy**, hath the keys of Heaven in his custody, to admit in by Indulgence, and shut out by Excommunication as he shall see cause: that the charge of all Souls, being committed to him, he is thereby made Soveraign Prince of this world exceeding in power and Majesty

ſty all other Princes, as far as the ſoul in dignity doth exceed the body, and eternal things ſurmount things temporal; and ſeeing that the End is the rule and commander of whatſoever doth tend unto it, and all things in this world are to ſerve but as inſtruments, and the world it ſelf but as a paſſage to our everlaſting habitation; that therefore he that hath the ſoveraign managing of this high end, and the honour to be the ſupream Conductor unto it, hath alſo power to diſpoſe of all things ſubordinate, as may beſt ſerve to it, to plant, to root out; to eſtabliſh, to diſpoſe; to bind, to looſe; to alter, to diſpence; as may ſerve moſt fit for the advancement of the Church, and for the atchieving of the Souls felicity: wherein whoſoever oppoſe againſt him, whether by Hereſie or Schiſm, they are no other than very Rebels or ſeditious perſons; againſt whom he hath unlimited and endleſs power to proceed, to the ſuppreſſing, ruining and extinguiſhing of them by all means, that the Commonwealth of God may flouriſh in proſperity, and the highway to Heaven be kept ſafe and open for all Gods Loyal and obedient People. In theſe points no doubt or queſtion is tolerable: and whoſo joyn with them in theſe, ſhall find great connivence in what other defect and difference ſoever; this being the very touch-ſtone at which all men are to be tryed, whether they be in the Church, or out of the Church, whether with them or againſt

gainſt them. And by this plot have their wits erected in the world a Monarchy more Potent than ever any that hath been before it: a Monarchy which entituling them *De jure* to all the world, layeth a ſtrong foundation thereof in all mens conſciences, the only firm ground of obedience in the world; and ſuch a foundation as not only holdeth faſt unto them whatſoever it ſeizeth on, but works outwardly alſo by Engins to weaken and undermine the State of all other Princes how great ſoever; and that in ſuch ſort, as by poſſeſſing themſelves of the principal places in the hearts of their Subjects, (as being thoſe from whom they receive their principal good, even the happineſs of their ſouls) to incite them upon very conſcience againſt their natural Soveraigns at pleaſure, and by writ of Excommunication to ſubdue, or at the leaſtwiſe greatly to ſhake whom they liſt, without fighting a blow, without levying a Souldier: and laſtly, a Monarchy, which as it was founded by meer wit, ſo needeth not any thing but meer wit to maintain it, which enricheth it ſelf without toyling, warreth without endangering, rewardeth without ſpending, uſing Colledges to as great purpoſe as any other can Fortreſſes; and working greater matters, partly by Scholars, partly by ſwarms of Friars, than any elſe could ever do by great Garriſons and Armies; and all theſe maintained at other folks charges; for to that rare point have they alſo proceeded,

proceeded, as not only to have huge Rents themſelves out of all Forraign States, but to maintain alſo their Inſtruments out of other mens Devotion; and to advance their Favorites, under the faireſt pretence of providing for Religion, to the very principal Preferments in Forraign Princes Dominions. That no man think it ſtrange, if finding the Revenue of Skill and Cunning to be ſo great, and her Force ſo mighty, eſpecially where ſhe worketh upon Simplicity and Ignorance; they encloſed heretofore all Learning within the Walls of their Clergy, ſetting forth Lady Ignorance for a great Saint to the Laity, and ſhrining her unto them for the true Mother of Devotion. And aſſuredly, but for one huge defect in their Policy, which was hard, in regard of their own particular Ambitions, but otherwiſe not impoſſible to be avoided; that they chuſe their Popes lightly very old men, and withal indifferently without any reſtraint out of all Families and Nations, whereby they are continually ſubject to double change of Government; the Succeſſor ſeldom proſecuting his Anteceſſors deviſes, but either croſſing them through Envy, or abandoning them upon new humour; it could not have been but they muſt have long ſince been abſolute Lords of all; which defect notwithſtanding, ſo ſtrong was their Policy, by reaſon of the force of their cordial Foundation, that no Prince or Potentate ever oppoſed

againſt them, but in fine, even by his own Subjects, they either maſtered him utterly, or brought him to good Conformity by great loſs and extremity; till ſuch time as in this latter Age, the untruth of the Foundation it ſelf being ſtoutly diſcovered, hath given them a ſore blow, and changing in great part the ſtate of the queſtion, hath driven them to a reenforcement of new Inventions and Practiſes.

Of their Means to ſtrengthen them.

Howbeit, thoſe Poſitions being the ground of their State, and the hope of their Glory, in them they admit no ſhadow of alteration, but endeavour ſtill *per fas & nefas*, even by all **Means** in the world to **ſtrengthen them**, and among their manifold Adverſaries hate them moſt of all other, who have laboured moſt in ſapping of that Foundation. And ſeeing that by reaſon of this Bookiſh Age, they have not that help of Ignorance, which in times paſt they had: they caſt about gently, to ſoak and ſettle them in mens Perſwaſions and Conſciences another way. They tell men that the very grounds whereon we build our Perſwaſion of the truth of Chriſtianity it ſelf, are no other than credible; that the proof of the Scripture to be the Word of God, can be no other, at this day, than probable only, it being impoſſible for any Wit in the World, to produce an exact neceſſary and infallible demonſtration, either

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that St. *Paul* had his calling from above, or that those Epistles were of his own writing; so likewise in the rest. And that the chief proof we have thereof, is the Testimony of the Church; a thing, which even their Adversaries are forced to confess. Now that this probable Perswasion of the truth of Christianity doth afterwards grow into an assuredness thereof, this issueth from the inward operation of Gods Spirit; the Gift whereof is Faith, and that Faith being a Knowledge, not of **Science**, but of **Belief**; which searcheth not by discourse the particular necessity of the verity of the things which are delivered, but relieth in general upon the approved wisdom, truth and vertue of him that doth deliver them: Surely, whosoever will needs have necessary proof of the several Articles of his Religion, doth but wittily deceive himself, and by over-curious endeavours to change his Faith into Science, but lose that which he seeks to perfect. If then without Faith no possibility of Salvation, surely needs must this be the high-way to Perdition. Now seeing that Christianity is a Doctrine of Faith, a Doctrine whereof all men, even Children, are capable, as being to be received in gross, and to be believed in the general; the high Vertue whereof is in the humility of understanding, and the merit in the readiness of obedience to embrace it, (for these have been always the true Honours of Faith) and seeing the outward proofs thereof,

are no other than probable, and of all probable proofs, the Churches Teſtimony is moſt probable: What madneſs is it for any man to tire out his Soul, and to waſt away his Spirits in tracing out all the thorny parts of the Controverſies of theſe days, wherein to err, is a thing no leſs eaſie than dangerous, what through forgery abuſing him, what through Sophiſtry beguiling him, what through Paſſion, Partiality, and private Intereſt tranſporting him; and not rather to betake himſelf to the high Path of truth, whereunto God and Nature, Reaſon and Experience, do all give witneſs, and that is, to aſſociate himſelf unto that Church, whereunto the cuſtody of this Heavenly and Supernatural Truth, hath been from Heaven it ſelf committed; ſo that two things only are to be performed in this caſe; to weigh diſcreetly which is the true Church, and that being found, to receive faithfully and obediently, without doubt or diſcuſſion, whatſoever it delivereth.

Now concerning the firſt Point, ſome doubt might be made, if there were any Church Chriſtian in the World to be ſhewn, which had continued from Chriſts time down to this Age, without change or interruption, theirs only excepted.

But if all other have had either their end and decay long ſince, or their beginning but of late: If theirs, being founded by the Prince of the Apoſtles, with promiſe to him by Chriſt, that

that Hell Gates ſhould not prevail againſt it, but that himſelf would be aſſiſting to it till the Conſummation of the World, have continued on now to the end of ſixteen hundred years, with an honourable and certain Line of near two hundred and forty Popes, all Succeſſors of St. *Peter*, both Tyrants and Traytors, both Pagans and Hereticks, in vain wreſting, raging, barking, and undermining; if all the lawful General Councils that ever were in the World, being the Venerable Senates of Gods Officers and Miniſters, have from time to time approved, obeyed, and honoured it, if God have ſo miraculouſly bleſſed it from above, as that ſo many ſage Doctors ſhould enrich it with their Writings, ſuch Armies, yea, millions of Saints with their Holineſs, or Martyrs with their Blood, of Virgins with their Purity ſhould ſanctifie and embelliſh it; if their Church have been a ruin always to them that oppoſed againſt her; a Stay, Repoſe, and Advancement to all her Followers; if even at this day, in ſuch difficulties of unjuſt Rebellions, and unnatural Revolts of her neareſt Children, yet ſhe ſtretches out her Arms to the utmoſt corners of the World, newly embracing whole Nations into her Boſom; if laſtly, in all other oppoſite Churches whereſoever, there be nothing to be found but inward diſſention and contrariety, but change of Opinions, uncertainty of Reſolutions, with robbing of Churches, Re-

belling againſt Governours, confuſion of Orders, nothing to be attended but Miſchief, Subverſion and Deſtruction (which they have well deſerved, and ſhall aſſuredly have:) whereas contrariwiſe, in their Church the Unity undivided, the Obedience unforced, the unalterable Reſolutions, the moſt Heavenly Order, reaching from the heighth of all Power, to the very loweſt of all Subjection, with admirable harmony and undefective correſpondence, all bending the ſame way, to the effecting of the ſame work, do promiſe no other than Continuance, Increaſe, and Victory; let no man doubt to ſubmit himſelf to this glorious Spouſe of God; on whoſe head is the Bleſſing of God, in whoſe hand is the Power of God, under whoſe feet are the Enemies of God, and to whom round about do ſervice all the Creatures of God. This then being accorded to be the true Church of God, it followeth that ſhe be reverently obeyed in all things, without farther diſquiſition; having the warrant, that he that heareth her, heareth Chriſt, and whoſoever heareth her not, hath no better place with God than a Publican or Pagan. And what Folly were it to receive the Scripture upon credit of her Authority, and not to receive the Interpretation of it upon her Authority alſo and credit? And if God ſhould not protect his Church always from errour, and yet peremptorily, command men always to obey her, then had

had he made but very ſlender Proviſion for the ſalvation of Mankind, to whom error in matter of Faith is certain damnation: which conceit of God (whoſe care of us, even in all things touching this tranſitory Life, is ſo plain and eminent) were ungrateful and impious. And hard were the Caſe, mean had his Regard been of the vulgar People, whoſe Wants and Difficulties in this Life will not permit, whoſe Capacity will not ſuffice to ſound the deep and hidden Myſteries of Divinity, to ſearch out the truth of theſe intricate Controverſies, if there were not other, whoſe Authority they might rely on. Bleſſed therefore are they which believe and have not ſeen; the merit of whoſe Religious Humility and Obedience, doth exceed perhaps in Honour and acceptance before God, the ſubtil and profound knowledge of many other. And laſtly, if any man, either in regard of his Vocation, or by reaſon of his leaſure liſt to ſtudy the Controverſies, let him take heed that he come not with a doubtful mind unto them, for diffidence is as the ſin of Rebellion; let him be ſtedfaſt in Faith, let him ſubmit his own reaſon to the Churches Authority, being the Houſe of God, the Pillar and Ground of Truth, let him be faſt and unmoveably built on that Foundation, and let his end be only this, to furniſh and arm himſelf in ſuch ſort, as to be able to withſtand and overthrow thoſe Hereticks, whom he ſhall at any time, either

chuſe or chance to encounter. This is the main courſe of their perſwading at this day, whereby they ſeek to re-eſtabliſh that former Foundation.

In the unfolding whereof I have been the longer, becauſe trial hath taught me, that not by ſome mens private Election, but as it ſhould ſeem, by common order, direction or conſent, they have relinquiſhed all other courſes, and hold them to this as the moſt effectual means in the way of perſwaſion, to inſinuate their deſire, and to work their deſign. In conſidering whereof, there cometh into my mind that diverſity which a wiſe Philoſopher hath intimated in the Wits of Men, that ſome are of ſo ſharp, deep, and ſtrong Diſcourſe, that they yield not their firm aſſent to any thing, till they have found out either ſome proper demonſtration for it, or ſome other certain proof whereon to ground it aſſuredly: other are by nature, ſo ſhallow and weak in that faculty, that they fear always error in working with it, and therefore do more willingly accord to whatſoever ſome of account for wiſdom do barely affirm, than to any thing that reaſon alone (which they ſuſpect) enforceth.

Now theſe latter exceeding the other as far in number, as in worthineſs and honour of nature they are exceeded by them: The *Romaniſts* taking a Courſe ſo fitting to the feeble and fearful humour of this ſort, do greatly ſway

ſway with them: whereas if they meet with one of the former more tough conſtitution, that will not be carried away with theſe plauſible declamations, nor yield his aſſent in groſs, without particular examination, they beſtow ſmall coſt on him, as having ſmall hope to prevail. Wherein I hold them wiſe in the rules of policy: that having found by certain and infallible experience, that the ignorance of the Laity was the chiefeſt and ſureſt ſinew of their greatneſs and glory, they now being not able to keep them longer in that blind ignorance, do cunningly endeavour ſo to lead them out of the former, as to enter them withal into a ſecond kind of ignorance; that being not content to ſee utterly nothing, at leaſtwiſe they may be perſwaded to reſign up their own eyſight, and to look through ſuch Spectacles as they temper for them.

Of their ways to Raviſh all Affections and to fit each Humour.

This being the main ground-work of their Policy; and the general means to blind and eſtabliſh it in the minds of all men; the particular **Ways they hold to Raviſh all Affections and to fit each humor**, (which their juriſdiction and power being but perſwaſive and voluntary, they principally regard,) are well nigh infinite: there being not any thing either Sacred or Prophane, no Vertue or Vice almoſt, no

no things of how contrary condition ſoever, which they make not in ſome ſort to ſerve that turn; that each Fancy may be ſatisfied, and each Appetite find what to feed on. Whatſoever either wealth can ſway with the lovers, or voluntary poverty with the deſpiſers of the World; what honour with the ambitious; what obedience with the humble; what great imployment with ſtirring and mettal'd Spirits, what perpetual quiet with heavy and reſtive bodies; what content the pleaſant nature can take in paſtimes and jollity, what contrariwiſe the auſtere mind in diſcipline and rigour, what love either Chaſtity can raiſe in the pure, or Voluptuouſneſs in the diſſolute; what allurements are in knowledge to draw the contemplative, or in actions of State to profeſs the practick diſpoſitions; what with the hopeful prerogative of reward can work; what errours, doubts, and dangers with the fearful; what change of vows with the raſh, of eſtate with inconſtant; what pardons with the faulty, or ſupplies with the defective; what miracles with the credulous; what viſions with the fantaſtical; what gorgeouſneſs of ſhews with the vulgar and ſimple; what multitude of Ceremonies with the ſuperſtitious and ignorant; what Prayer with the devout, what with the charitable works of Piety; what rules of higher perfection with elevated affections; what diſpenſing with breach of all rules with men of lawleſs Conditions; in ſum what

what thing ſoever can prevail with any man, either for himſelf to purſue, or at leaſtwiſe to love, reverence or honour in another; (For even therein alſo mans nature receiveth great ſatisfaction) the ſame is found with them, not as in other places of the World, by caſualty blended without order, and of neceſſity; but ſorted in great part into ſeveral profeſſions, countenanced with Reputation; honoured with Prerogatives; facilitated with Proviſions and yearly maintenance, and either (as the better things) advanced with expectation of reward, or born with, how bad ſoever, with ſweet and ſilent permiſſion. What pomp, what riot, to that of their Cardinals? what ſeverity of life comparable to their Hermits and Capuchins? who wealthier than their Prelates? who poorer by vow and profeſſion than their Mendicants? On the one ſide of the ſtreet a Cloiſter of Virgins: on the other a Stye of Courtizans, with publick toleration. This day all in Masks with all looſeneſs and foolery; to morrow all in Proceſſions whipping themſelves till the blood follow. On one door an Excommunication throwing to Hell all Tranſgreſſours; on another a Jubilee or full diſcharge from all Tranſgreſſions: Who learneder in all kind of Sciences than their Jeſuits? What thing more ignorant than their ordinary Maſs-Prieſts? What Prince ſo able to prefer his Servants and followers, as the Pope, and in ſo great multitude? Who

able

able to take deeper or readier revenge on his Enemies? What pride equal unto his, making Kings kiſs his Pantafle? What humility greater than his, Shriving himſelf daily on his Knees to an ordinary Prieſt? Who difficulter in diſpatch of Cauſes to the greateſt? Who eaſier in giving Audience to the meaneſt? Where greater rigor in the World in acting the obſervation of the Church Laws? Where leſs care or conſcience of the Commandments of God? To taſte Fleſh on a Friday where ſuſpition might faſten, were a matter for the Inquiſition? whereas on the other ſide the Sunday is one of their greateſt Market-days? To conclude, never State, never Government in the World, ſo ſtrangely compacted of infinite Contrarieties, all tending to entertain the ſeveral humours of all men, and to work what kind of Effects ſoever they ſhall deſire: where rigor and remiſſneſs, cruelty and lenity are ſo combined, that with neglect of the Church to ſtir ought, is a ſin unpardonable; whereas with duty towards the Church, and by interceſſion for her allowance, with reſpective attendance of her pleaſure, no Law almoſt of God or Nature ſo Sacred, which one way or other they find not means to diſpence with, or at leaſtwiſe permit the breach of by connivence and without diſturbance.

Of their particular Projects.

But to proceed to the conſideration of their more particular Projects, and more myſtical devices for the perpetuating of their greatneſs. There was never yet State ſo well built in the World, having his ground as theirs hath in the good will of others, and not ſtanding by his own main ſtrength and power, that could longer uphold it ſelf in flouriſhing reputation and in proſperity, than it could make it ſelf neceſſary to them by whom it ſubſiſted, all callings of Men, all degrees in Common-wealths; yea particular great Perſonages, then waning in their greatneſs, when they decay in their neceſſarineſs, to them from whom they have it. Which the Papacy nothing ignorant of, nor neglecting, hath by ſecret and rare cunning ſo deeply engaged and intereſſed from time to time the greateſt Monarchs of Chriſtendom, in the upholding of that State, that without the Papacy, ſundry of them have no hope, and ſome no Title to continue in their own Dominions. For to omit things more apparent and in the Eyes of all men, their pretended Authority to Excommunicate and depoſe them, to diſcharge Subjects of all Oaths and bond of obedience, to oblige them under pain of damnation to riſe againſt them, to honour their murtherers, with the Title of Martyrs, (for to that degree of eternity have

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ſome of their Sect grown:) the effect of which proceeding, ſome great Princes have felt and more have feared, and few at this day liſt to put it to the adventure: the tempering with ſo unlimited power in Princes Marriages, by diſpencing with Degrees by the Law of God and the World forbidden, by looſing and knitting Marriages, by device at pleaſure, by Legitimating unlawful and accurſed iſſue, and thereby advancing into Thrones of Regality, oftentimes, baſe, ſundry times Adulterous, yea and ſometimes Inceſtuous and perhaps unnatural off-ſpring; doth not reaſon fore-tell, and hath not experience averred, that both the partners in ſuch Marriages, and much more their whole Iſſue are bound in as ſtrong a bond to the upholding of the Popes infinite Authority and Power, as the honour of their Birth, and title of their Crowns are worth? It was a ſilly conceit in them, who hoped that Queen *Mary* would not reſtore the Popes Authority in *England* by reaſon of her Promiſe, when a greater bond to her than her Promiſe did preſs her to it. What man ever in the World ſtuck faſter to his choſen friend than the late King *Philip* of *Spain* to the Papacy, (notwithſtanding with the Popes themſelves his often jealouſies and quarrels:) having ordained moreover that all his Heirs and Succeſſours in the State of the Low-Countries by vertue of his late tranſport ſhall for ever in their entry into thoſe Seignories take an Oath

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for the maintaining of the Papacy and that Religion? Is not the reaſon apparent, that if the Papacy ſhould quail, his only Son with whoſoever deſcend of him, are diſhonoured and made uncapable as in way and right of deſcent, of thoſe great States and Kingdoms which now he holdeth; yea a fire kindled in his own houſe about the Title to them? Neither is it to be admitted into any conceit of reaſon but that this young King will be as ſure to the Papacy as his Father, being born of a Marriage prohibited by God, abhorred haply by Nature, diſapproved by the World; and only by Papal Authority made allowable.

For, for my part, I hold that Opinion not unprobable, that the Marriage of Uncle and Niece (as it was in this caſe) is contrary to the Law of Nature, and not Gods poſitive Law only: ſeeing the Uncle hath a ſecond right and place of a Father. But howſoever that point ſtands, wherein I dare not affirm ought, it is clearly contrary to ſuch a poſitive Law of God, as the reaſon and cauſe whereof muſt needs continue till the diſſolution of the World or overthrow of Mankind; and therefore in Reaſon and Law no way abrogable or diſpenſable with, but by the ſame or an higher Authority than that which firſt did make it: that the Pope need not think they do him apparent wrong, who inveſt him with the Title of that Man of Power, who ſitting in the Temple of God, exalteth himſelf above God.

For

For what may it ſeem elſe, bearing himſelf for Head of the Church, to take upon him to cancel or Authentically to allow of the breach of Gods Law, without having his expreſs and preciſe warrant for ſo doing? Tho' I am not ignorant, that they have diſtinctions for all this: which were a merry matter if Sophiſtry were the proper Science for Salvation. But by this and ſome other Marriages, theſe ſtrange relations of alliance have grown, that King *Philip the ſecond*, were he now alive, might call the *Arch-Duke Albert* both Brother, Couſin, Nephew, and Son: for all this was he to him either by blood or affinity; being Uncle to himſelf, Couſin-germain to his Father, Husband to his Siſter, and Father to his Wife. And to come a ſtep nearer home, the ſame rule of Policy made me ſtrongly conjecture till that now God by death hath prevented that miſchief; howſoever the Pope hitherto, what for fear of ſcandalizing, what for other reſpects, made ſhew not to be forward to conſent to an intended Marriage between a Married King and his Miſtreſs, much leſs to Legitimate the Children Adulterouſly begotten, by finding nullities on both ſides in the former Marriages, (things made on purpoſe, as he knoweth to cloak a falſhood;) that yet notwithſtanding himſelf or his Succeſſours would yield to it in the end, if any colour in the World could be laid upon the matter to ſalve the credit of his not erring See, and he might

might ſee good hope for that Race to prevail: yea, and it may yet be, that in ſome other Match he will guide that ſtream into the ſame courſe; that ſo deriving the Succeſſion alſo of this other great Kingdom, upon Iſſue, whoſe Title muſt hold of his Legitimation, he may be better aſſured of it than he hath been hitherto; and have them for ever moſt firm and irreconcileable Adverſaries, to all ſuch whether Subjects or Neighbours, or whoſoever, as ſhould oppoſe againſt his Soveraignty and unſtinted power; ſo ſearching and penetrant is the cunning of that See; to ſtrengthen it ſelf more by the unlawful Marriages of other Men, than ever Prince yet could do by any Lawful Marriage of his own.

Of their Diſpenſing with Oaths.

The **Diſpenſing with Oaths** and diſcharging from them, eſpecially in matters of Treaty between Princes and States; is a thing ſo repugnant to all moral honeſty, ſo injurious to the quiet and peace of the World, ſo odious in it ſelf, ſo ſcandalous to all Men, that it may be they adventure not to play upon that ſtring in this curious age ſo often as heretofore, for fear of diſcording all the reſt of their harmony.

Clear it is that heretofore this made them a neceſſary help for all ſuch Princes as either upon extremity were driven to enter into hard

conditions, or upon Falſhood and Diſhoneſty deſired to take their Advantage againſt their Neighbours, when it was offered. Which Princes having no means to ſalve their Credit with the World, but only by juſtifying the unholineſs of their Act, by the Popes holy Authority interpoſed in it, were afterwards tyed firmly to adhere unto him. And this was the Caſe of *Francis the Firſt*, with whom, immediately upon his Oath given to *Charles the Fifth*, for performance of the Articles accorded at his Delivery, *Clement the Seventh* diſpenſed, and by probable conjecture, had promiſed him to diſpence with his Oath before-hand, upon hope alſo whereof he took it: The effect was for the Popes behoof, that ever after there was ſtrict Love and Intelligence between them; teſtified finally to the World, by that famous Marriage between the Son of the one, and the Kinſwoman of the other. And verily, though I hold in general too much ſuſpiciouſneſs, as great a Fault, and as great an Enemy to Wiſdom, as too much credulity; it doing oftentimes as hurtful wrong to Friends, as the other doth receive wrongful hurt from Diſſemblers; yet viewing the ſhort continuance of ſworn Leagues at this day, the ſmall reckoning that Princes make of Oaths ſolemnly taken, whether to Neighbours or Subjects, not Faith, but Profit being the Bond of Alliance and Amity, which altering once, the other have no longer during,

ing, it maketh me think not unpoſſible, that the Popes unlimited Fingers may be ſtirring even at this day, more often in ſecret, in uniting thoſe Knots of the Bonds of Conſcience, than the World is ware of, at leaſtwiſe, that by Authority and Imitation of his Example Princes aſſume unto themſelves a like Faculty of diſpenſing with their own Oaths, whenſoever they can perſwade themſelves it is behoveful unto their Kingdoms, as he, when to his Church. But howſoever that ſtands, this is very apparent, that by this Doctrine and Policy, the Popes Oppoſites and Enemies, eſpecially the States and Princes of the Reformed Religion, are ineſtimably prejudiced; being reduced hereby to a continual incertainty and confuſion in all their weightieſt Actions, Counſels, and Reſolutions, there being a Warrant dormant, for all men to break League and Oath with them, and no need of particular Diſpenſation from his Holineſs; their Church long ſince by her Rules, and ſome of great reckoning among them more lately by their Writings, having publiſhed and preached to all the World, that Faith given to Hereticks, is not to be kept, that Leagues with them are more honourable in their breaking, than in their making; denying that Right unto Princes of Chriſtian profeſſion, which Chriſtians unto Heathen, the Heathen one to another of how different Religion ſoever; yea, all honourable Princes unto

very Traytors and Rebels, have always kept inviolable. And surely if Father *Parsons*, at his late coming to *Rome*, pretending to make Peace between the *English* Scholars and the Jesuits, (who were charged with much indirect dealing, and large imbeazling) and setting down certain Articles between them to that purpose, whereby each part should be bound to desist impugning of the other, did, by handling the matter, as is said, with such sleight and conveyance, (imitating therein a rule of Fast on the one side, and loose on the other, in the ground of their order) as first to swear the Scholars to observe that which was their part, and afterwards to leave the Jesuits unsworn to theirs; effect his secret and ambitious Intent, and to the great grief of the Scholars, make the Jesuits their Governours: what other account can be made of these Peaces and Leagues between those of the Roman and of the Reformed Religion, but that the one side being tied by Oath, and the other left free: (for so are they taught;) they shall so far forth only have performance and continuance, as shall prove to the advantage in ease or profit of that party which esteemeth it self left at liberty.

The Sacred, the Soveraign Instrument of Justice among men, what is it, what can be in this World but an Oath, being the strongest Bond of Conscience? This the end of

Strifes

Strifes particular, this the ſoder of publick Peace, and the ſole aſſurance of Amity between divers Nations; which being made here below, is enrolled in his high Court, whoſe glorious name doth ſign it; who hath made no Grant of acceſs to his Celeſtial Palace, but to ſuch as having ſworn once, though it redound to their own damage, yet ſwarve not from it; that nothing but miſchief can be preſaged to the World in this Age moſt wretched, wherein Perjury hath ſo undermined the very Tribunals of Judgment, that it hath chaſed true Juſtice out of the World, and left no place for a juſt man where to ſtand againſt the Crafty. But what may be ſaid, when he that ſitteth in the Temple of God, ſhall ſo far advance himſelf above God, as to diſpenſe with Oaths made Sacred by the moſt Holy and high Name of God? when he that profeſſeth himſelf the ſole Umpire and Peace maker of the World, ſhould cut in ſunder thoſe only ſinews that hold Peace together: when the Father of Princes, and Prince of Religion ſhall carry himſelf with ſo wicked Partiality and Craft, as in diſſolving Oaths, by afflicting therein, the part he hateth, and making the other perpetually obnoxious to him, to work his own certain advantage from both: and laſtly, by making that Ancient bridle of the unjuſt, to be now an only ſnare to entrap the innocent, ſhall impoſe that blemiſh upon the

Name of Christianity, which Pagans in their natural morality have abhorred.

I will not here omit one other great help, which Casualty, rather than Cunning, may seem to have wrought: it falling out often in the Affairs of men, that where wisdom hath furnished out sundry Aids and Instruments, there some also do frame themselves, as it were by chance, springing out of the concurrence of divers accidents with the former.

Of the Greatness of the House of Austria.

As at this day the **Greatness of the House of Austria**, extending it self well near to all Quarters of *Europe*, and confining with many of the Popes principal Adversaries: who having long since, upon the rich Purchase which they had of the *West-Indies*, devoured, in assured hope and conceit, the **Monarchy of our Western World**. And finding no fitter and more plausible means to enlarge their Temporal Dominion, than by concurring with the Pope in restoring his Spiritual; have linked themselves most fast with his See, and investing themselves voluntarily with an Office of their own Erection, have taken upon them to be the Executioners of the Papal Excommunications; that having Title from the Pope, who giving his Enemies States *Occupanti*, and distracting their Subjects from them upon

upon fear of his Curſe, the reſt they may ſupply out of their own force and opportunities. And for this purpoſe hath been erected, and by them highly cheriſhed, that ſuper-politick and irrefragable Order, as they count it, of the Jeſuites, who couple in their Perſwaſions, as one God, and one Faith; ſo one Pope and one King: bearing the World in hand, that there is no other means for the Church to ſtand, but by reſting upon this Pillar, and by uniting in this ſort, all the Forces of the Chriſtians, this the only means to vanquiſh that Arch-enemy of Chriſtianity: That the *Italians* may not brag to have been the only men who have ſubdued the World unto them by their Wit, the *Spaniards* having proved ſo good Scholars in their Schools, that though they follow them in their grounds of pretending their advancement of Religion, and in their Inſtruments of Religious Orders to practiſe mens minds with, yet in this they out-go them; that they uſe the Popes Weapons, Lightnings, Thunders and Terrours, for Inſtruments of their own Greatneſs; and his hope of re-eſtabliſhing his Spiritual Reputation by them, to the immoderate increaſe of their ſecular Power by him; that the Pope alſo himſelf, muſt in the end be conſtrained to caſt himſelf into their Arms, and to remain at their Devotion, acknowledging him thenceforth for his good Lord and Patron,

whom heretofore he hath governed and commanded as his Son. A Point, which as ſome of the Miniſters of *Spain* in the huff of their Pride, have not been able to hold in, but have braved the Aſſembly of Cardinals to their Beards, that they hoped ere long, to ſee the day, that their Maſter ſhould tender half a dozen to the Pope to be made Cardinals at once, whereof he ſhould not dare to refuſe any one; and that the Cardinals themſelves ſhould as little dare to chooſe any other Pope than whom he named: ſo their importunate preſſing of the Popes in theſe latter times to ſerve all their ambitious and rageing turns, and the long prejudicing of the liberty of the Conclave in their Elections, hath given them good aſſurance, that they ſpeak as they mean, that their Braggs are Hopes, and theſe Threats are Purpoſes. But howſoever the great Jealouſie and Fear whereof, as being not now to learn the *Spaniſh* Haughtineſs and Inſolence, (who in the Pride of their Monarchy are grown alſo to ſwear by the Life of their King) have extreamly perplexed ſome of the latter Popes, and driven them to very extraordinary and deſperate Reſolutions, which they have pay'd for dearly; and in general, have made it Enacted for a Rule in that See, not ſo much to ſeek the repairing of their Forraign Spiritual Authorities (if it cannot be done but by means of ſo huge inconvenience) as to ſtrengthen and make

make themſelves great in their temporal Eſtate at home: Yet now ſeeing *France* beyond all hope of man re-united in it ſelf, and likely to flouriſh as in its former Proſperity, whereby they ſhall be able ſo to ballance theſe Monarchs as to make that part the heavier, to which they ſhall propend (an Ancient rule and continual practiſe of that See,) I ſhould not greatly doubt, but that they will be content again, henceforward ſo long as matters ſtand in Terms they do, to entertain that good correſpondence with the **Houſe of Auſtria**, as to ſerve them with their Excommunications, that they may be ſerved by them with their Executions. The ſweetneſs whereof, as the *Spaniard* hath long ſince taſted in effect, having ſeized on *Navarre* by that only pretence; and of latter times in high conceit and hope; truſting to have embraced both *France* and *England* by the ſame means: ſo doubt I not but that other branch of the **Houſe of Auſtria** in *Germany*, which hath engroſſed, and in a manner entailed to their houſe ſo many Elective States, the Empire, the Kingdoms of *Bohemia* with his dependances, and of *Hungary*; and are likely alſo to draw in the Princedom of *Tranſilvania*, whenſoever they ſhould attain quiet and ſecurity from the *Turk*, (which hath no great unlikelihood to be compaſſed in ſhort time) would take the ſame courſe againſt the Proteſtants of *Germany*; having ſo many Prelates and other

there

there to assist them, (who by rooting out the Protestants out of all their States, have prepared a good ground for such a future exploit :) However the Pope himself do yet forbear his thunders, having learned by his loss elsewhere, that it argueth in these actions more courage than wit, to make a noise ere the blow be ready. Now as these are the hopes of the **House of Austria**, for the enlarging of their Estate and molesting of their Neighbours: so for the entertaining of perpetual unity and love amongst themselves, they use the grand preservative and help of Marriage, the only sure bond of Amity in the World : insomuch that by continual intermarrying among themselves, they remain still as Brethren all of one Family, and as Arms of the selfsame Body. These take I to be the means, whereby the Papacy hath assured so many of the greatest unto it.

Of the Nobility, and their Confession.

To descend from which to those that are next them in degree, the **Nobility** and other Persons of Worth and Quality ; the Papacy is not disprovided of his Instruments to work upon these also; it hath his Baits to allure them, his Hooks to retain them. I will not stand much upon the benefit which their **Confession** doth herein yield them, whereby prying into the Hearts and Consciences of all men,

men, they attain knowledge of the ſecrets, they find the diſpoſitions, they diſcover the Humours of all the moſt reſpective and able Perſons, of what Country or calling, place or quality ſoever. A matter of ſingular conſideration in the managing of Affairs of principal importance for the well guiding of Councels: the ignorance thereof being cauſe of Error in the wiſeſt deliberations, and of uncertain Succeſs in the moſt grounded reſolutions. To omit the great wealth which they heap thereby, perſwading their penitents, eſpecially in that only hour of agony and extremity, to ranſom their Sins committed againſt God, by conſecrating their goods unto the Church of God: whereby they have prevailed in all places ſo far, the Jeſuits above all other, who are noted and envied by other Orders of Friers, for engroſſing the commodity of being rich mens Confeſſours, where good is to be done; with whom their pranks in that kind, have been ſo rare and memorable, that moſt States at this day have been forced by publick Order to limit the proportion of that kind of purchaſe. For in that caſe they can eaſily extenuate thoſe other helps of Indulgences and of Requiems at their priviledged Altars, and yet without touch of the Popes Omnipotency.

They count them but ſimple folk that cannot uſe their ſeveral devices without croſſing one the other how contrary ſoever. They can tell

tell them that it may be for want of contrition in themſelves, thoſe Soveraign Pardons wanted a fit Subject to work on: and ſo for the other after-help; the want of intention in the Prieſt, may fruſtrate the Maſs of that Prerogative of Vertue; whereby their Souls may perhaps Fry in Purgatory: when their Friends ſhall imagine they ſhine in glory. That the only ſure way of having good, is by doing good: and what good to be done at death, but the beſtowing well of his Goods? and where better beſtowing them, than upon him that gave them? And to God they are given, when they are given to his Miniſters,

Of the Choice of their Cardinals.

Neither yet will I other than mention only the help: which the Choice of their Cardinals doth yield herein: whom chooſing in great part out of the moſt Noble and Potent Families, that either voluntarily deſire it, or can be induced to accept it; they both give good ſatisfaction to all Forreign Nations, but eſpecially hold *Italy* to them in deep devotion; and ſtrengthen themſelves with the favour and ſupport of thoſe mens Kindreds, whom they have placed in the next ſtep to the top of their glory: Yea, and oftentimes by means of theſe Cardinals their aſſured Inſtruments, they inſinuate themſelves into the ſwaying of the government of thoſe States wherein

wherein either by their Nobility or other Worth they bear Authority. A Policy of long uſage and obſerved by many. The ſame alſo though not in the ſame high degree, they have wrought, and do ſtill work in thoſe Realms which acknowledge their Roman Supremacy, by the ordinary Biſhops and other Prelates advanced in them. Who on the one ſide having ſworn obedience to the Pope; on the other ſide having voice in the high Courts of Parliament (as repreſenting the firſt of the three Eſtates of the Kingdoms,) and otherwiſe alſo employed in weighteſt Affairs; have carried themſelves with that doubleneſs in their two-fold duty, as that ſtill the Popes greatneſs hath been upheld to their utmoſt power.

For which cauſe ſome States, as the *Venetians* by Name, to countermine that Forreign Policy with an inward proviſion, whenſoever any of their Gentlemen ſet foot into that courſe, they dimiſs them thence-forward even from thoſe grand Councels, whereinto their very Birth-right and Family did give them entrance.

Of their Variety of Preferments.

But Jewels are rare, and for few mens wearing. Such are the honours of Cardinals, being made Kings Companions. The multitude and diverſity of men of Spirit and Quality

lity requireth ſtore alſo and Variety of competent Preferments to entertain them with in good content and correſpondence: a thing in all States of very neceſſary and chief regard. Wherein although the Papacy may ſeem at the firſt bluſh to have no Furniture extraordinary above other Princes, ſave only in one kind, for men of Eccleſiaſtical calling; (by which he is able to advance men of learning incomparably above any other Prince in the World, as having well nigh all the Biſhopricks and Abbeys in *Italy* with other Church Livings, almoſt half the Benefices in *Spain*, very many Eccleſiaſtical Preferments of all ſorts in other Countries at his beſtowing:) yet if we look into the uſe and practiſe of theſe times, it will well appear that even by Eccleſiaſtical Livings he partly accommodateth and partly ſuffers (as by his Grace) to be accommodated, all Profeſſions and Ages, though neither fit nor very capable of Eccleſiaſtical Order; what by Diſpenſations or Tolerations to be Adminiſtrators of Abbeys, Biſhopricks and other Benefices, as is uſed in *France*; what as in *Italy* and *Spain*, by aſſignations of yearly Penſions out of their Revenues: which being ſo great as there they are, they may eaſily; and having hope of expiring, they may contentedly bear. And moſt of this out of the Dominions and Territories of other Princes, and without any charging or impoveriſhing of his own: A choice and refined piece of high

high quinteſſence of Wit, which never yet any State could ſo diſtil their Brains, as to aſpire to, beſides the Papacy. To let paſs the infinite number of Honours and Livings, what Eccleſiaſtical, what Subordinate and Miniſterial to them; and what alſo in part Temporal, as belonging to the Knights of the Holy Orders, which are many: all which although not directly in his own donation, yet in that they have their right either grounded upon, or greatly favoured and continued by his Religion, and in the decay of that (as experience hath ſhewed) were likely alſo to quaile; are ſtrong props to the upholding of the glory of the Papacy: Arming ſo many Tongues and Hands in the defence thereof, as either are or have hope to be advanced by it, and each drawing his Kindred, Friends, and Followers with him. A ſweet enchanter and deceiver of Men, in the hope of honour and worldly profit, which lulling oft, even in the better ſort, the Conſcience aſleep, doth awaken withal and ſharpen the Wit, to find out Arguments for the proving of that concluſion which affection before-hand hath framed; and by cuſtom and continuance engendreth in them a perſwaſion that they have done well in that, which at the firſt their own knowledge could ſay was otherwiſe. How powerfully then may it ſway with that other ſort of men, whoſe Belly being their God, maketh their Appetite their ſole Religion? Which if the

experience

experience of former times have not ſufficiently affirmed; it were to be wiſhed perhaps, that more freſh proof might have been given thereof once again in this Kingdom of *France*: where ſome of the wiſeſt and chief have thought, that if the King ſhould accord to the Clergies late ſupplication, to beſtow Church Livings upon fit men, and only of Eccleſiaſtical Calling; thoſe Princes and Peers which now in regard of that particular Commodity which they reap from the Church in Tearms it ſtandeth, have unſheath'd their Swords in defence thereof, would ſoon turn them another way, to the utter razing of it, that they might ſatisfie their greedineſs with the ſpoil of that State, whoſe pay they could no longer have.

Of the Clergy and their Prerogatives.

But for the Clergy themſelves, who are in all places under the Papacy, great in number and power, they are moſt firmly aſſured to that See; what by the multitude of Exemptions and Prerogatives above the Temporalty, which under the Popes protection they ſecurely enjoy; what with expecting of no other than utter Saccage and Ruin, if the oppoſites of the Pope ſhould happen to prevail: ſo undiſcreet and violent hath been their carriage in moſt places, where they have been able either to bring or pull in alſo their Reformation. Yea herein alſo it hath befallen,

as

as in ſome other things, that not only caſual, but even meer croſs accidents have redounded to the Popes great advantage and benefit: this great part which in this Age hath been raiſed againſt him, having wrought this effect, to make the reſt more firm, more ſerviceable, and more zealous towards him. Inſomuch, that whereas in *France*, in former times he was ſmally regarded of any, but ſtomacked at by the Princes, impeached, abridged, and appealed from by the Prelates; and laſtly, either deſpiſed or neglected by the People: the hatred and rancour conceived againſt his Adverſaries, (which being firſt kindled by eagerneſs of oppoſition, is now, by long continuance therein, moſt ſtrongly ſetled, have produced effects of clean contrary nature: the Princes and Cities have joyned in Holy League for the upholding of him; the People with all fury have raged, have fought againſt, have murthered and maſſacred his Oppoſites in all places, and the Clergy of *France*, which heretofore hath withſtood him in many better Counſels, doth now call mainly for his late **Council of Trent**, rejected over all the world, ſaving *Spain* and *Italy*, to be admitted and eſtabliſhed over all that Kingdom. A Council of all other moſt ſervile and partial to him, and carried by him with ſuch infinite Guile and Craft, without any ſincerity, upright dealing, or truth, as that themſelves will even ſmile in the Triumph of their own Wits,

when they hear it but mentioned, as at a Maſter Stratagem. Yea, ſo ſtrongly hath this Oppoſition faſtned his Clergy to him, that the name of a General Council is now the moſt plauſible, which in former times was the moſt fearful thing to him in the World, and whereunto he was never brought with any better Good-will than an old bitten Bear is drawn to the Stake to be baited by his Enemies, who dare tug him in Company, at whom in ſingle they ſcarce durſt bark: ſo powerful is the nature of all Oppoſition, to increaſe deſpite and hatred againſt the Enemy; and to make Friends, eſpecially thoſe that are intereſſed in the ſame cauſe, to cleave more cloſe together. Yea, rather ſo wiſe is the ever admirable Creator, even in all his Works, of what nature ſoever, as to temper the very Accidents of the Life of man with ſuch proportion and counterpoiſe, that no proſperity, without his Inconvenience, no Adverſity without his Comfort, to chaſe out of mans life Security and Deſpair, the only enemies of all vertuous and honourable courſes.

Of the Multitude of their Religious Orders.

To each thing hath the goodneſs of that wiſe Architect imparted a peculiar Badg of honour, that nothing ſhould be deſpicable in the eyes of others. The Princes in Majeſty and

and Soveraignty of Power; the Nobility in Wiſdom and dominative Vertue, together with the Inſtruments thereof, as Riches, Reputation, Allies and Followers, and the People in their Multitude are reſpectable and honourable. Which **Multitude** being of ſo great conſequence in matter of State; the Policy of the Papacy hath in no wiſe neglected; but provided both reaſonable Entertainment for them, and fit means alſo to practiſe and work upon them. Here come in thoſe heaps of their **Religious Orders**, that multitude of Friers which abound in all places, but wherewith *Italy* above all doth ſwarm. A Race of People in former times honourable in their Holineſs, now for the moſt part contemptible in their Wickedneſs and Miſery; always praying, but with ſeldom ſign of Devotion; vowing Obedience, and ſtill Contentious; Chaſtity, but yet moſt Luxurious: Poverty, yet every where Scraping and Covetous: Which I ſpeak not of them all, there being many among them of ſingular Piety and Devotion in their way: but of the far greater part, as they are generally reputed, where-ever I have been. But to return to the Aid which the Papacy doth reap from them.

Of their Providing for Children.

The only contentful Care that the ordinary ſort of men entertain in this World, is in

Providing for their Children, to leave them in good Estate, and not Inferiour, but rather above their Ancestors, which those that have many, being not able to perform for all; it is a great ease to them (and such an ease, as even Princes and great Peers themselves sometimes disdain not, but are rather glad of) to discharge their hands of some of them, especially of such as by disgrace or defect of nature, are either more backward, or less lovely than other, at an easie and small rate, and yet with honourable pretence, namely by consecrating them wholly to the Service of the Creator, and providing an higher place for them in his Celestial Kingdom. For such is their Opinion of these Orders of Religious and Angelical Perfection, as they usually stile them; the Friers also themselves having names given them by their Governours, each according to his Merits importing no less; and as they increase in their Holiness, so proceeding in their Titles, from Padre Benedetto to Padre Angelo, then Archangelo, Cherubino, and lastly, Seraphino, which is the top of Perfection. But for their own high Conceit of their Perfection and Merits, this Example may serve. I have heard one of their most Reverend Capuchins for Zeal, Sanctity and Learning, Preaching in principal place before the Bishop, in sharp reproof of the forsaken Crew of Blasphemous Gamesters, pray solemnly to God (though acknowledging

ledging himſelf, firſt in humility, a great ſinner) by his Merits and Diſcipline, by the Tears which his Eyes had often ſhed, by the Chaſtiſement, which with his Cord he had often given himſelf, by thoſe many ſharp Voyages, which for the Love of God he had made, becauſe they did grieve *Animam pauperis*, which was himſelf, that if there were any which ſhould ſtill, notwithſtanding his Admonitions, perſiſt in that wicked Gameſtry, he would ſtrike them, ere that day Twelve-moneth, with ſome markable Puniſhment: The ſame man an other time, in an Extaſie of Charity, (calling God, all his Angels and Saints to witneſs it) to ſtrip himſelf of all his Merits (though few he acknowledg'd) before the little Crucifix there, embracing and kiſſing it, and to pray it to reward them upon his dearly beloved Auditory, for whoſe ſakes he was content alſo to be reputed the greateſt Sinner of all the Aſſembly.

Of their Nunneries.

Such being their perfection then, the deſiring it muſt needs iſſue from an honourable Affection. Now, although the *Italian*, being a thrifty Manager, do in his heart greatly repine at a Cuſtom that their Nunneries have of late brought up (being indeed conſtrained to it by the exceſſive Multitude

which in the former reſpect are thruſt upon them) which is, not to receive any Gentleman or Merchants Daughter, without a Dowry of two hundred Crowns, and fifteen or twenty Crowns yearly Penſion during her Life, and ten Crowns yearly Rent to their Houſe for ever; neither admit they of any mean mans Daughter without ſome Crowns alſo in name of a Dowry at their Spiritual Marriage to God, and thoſe ſhall be but Serving-Nuns to the former: yet finding of two Charges, this far the eaſier, they are content to ſwallow down that, which by champing on, they cannot remedy. But the Orders of Religious Men bring them another caſe alſo. It disburdeneth their Country of an infinite number of diſcontented Humours and deſpairing Paſſions: Whoſoever in his deareſt Loves hath proved unfortunate; whoſoever cannot proſper in ſome other Profeſſion which he hath been ſet to; whomſoever any notable diſgrace or other croſs in his Eſtate hath bereaved of all hope of ever riſing in this World; whoſoever by his miſcarriage, hath purchaſed ſo many Enemies, as that nothing but his Blood can give ſatisfaction to their Malice; all theſe and many other reduced to like anguiſh of mind and diſtreſs, or otherwiſe, howſoever out of taſte with the World, have this Haven of content always open and at hand to flee to, when they can find no other place of repoſe

poſe to ſtand on, then reſolve they to go Friers, as they phraſe it. Yea, whoſoever by his monſtrous Blaſphemy or other like Villany, hath deſerved all the Tortures and Deaths in the World, if before the Hand of Juſtice lay hold upon him, he voluntarily profeſs himſelf a Capuchin or Hermit, or of ſuch like ſtrict Order, the Pope doth forbid any further purſuit, as thinking his voluntary perpetual Penance ſufficient: and of this ſort is the greateſt part of their Gentlemen Capuchins; for ſo are the moſt of their Order by Birth. Neither is this Religious Life (ſave in ſome very few Orders) ſo ſevered from the World and the Commodities thereof, but that it enjoyeth as many Contents as a moderate mind need wiſh, and immoderate affections can find means alſo to ſatisfie themſelves at pleaſure; in ſum, they are rather diſcharged of the Toils and Cares, than debarred of the Comforts and Solaces of this Life. Neither is there almoſt ſo mean a Frier among them, that hath not ſome hope to be Prior of his Convent; and then perhaps Provincial of that Reſort or Province; and laſtly, not impoſſible that his good Fortune may ſo accompany, or his Merits ſo commend him, as to attain to be General of all his Order. The Generals are as fit to be made Cardinals as any men, and finally, ſundry of them, within the memory of man, have been advanced from the Eminence of Cardinal-Dignity, to the Soveraignty of Papal Glory.

Hope is a ſweet and firm Companion of man, it is the laſt thing that leaveth him, and the higheſt things it promiſeth him; it makes all Toils ſupportable, all Difficulties conquerable. Now the Multitude of theſe Orders, and good Proviſion for them, being ſo great an eaſe to all ſorts of men in their private Eſtates, as they generally account it; it muſt needs be a great Bond of their Affections to the Papacy, under which they enjoy it, as by whom alone thoſe Orders are protected, and whom his Adverſaries do ſeek utterly to exterminate and ruine. That I ſpeak little of the particular Perſons who enter thoſe Orders, who draw thereby their whole Race the more to favour that way, which in ſo infinite a number of them, muſt needs be of great moment. And although againſt this might be objected with great reaſon, the ineſtimable damage which the publick doth thereby receive; as in *Italy* for example, perhaps half the Land in many places thereof, and generally a full third, beſides their other avails, being appropriated to this ſort of People, and other Perſons Eccleſiaſtical; yea, and of the People themſelves, perhaps a quarter of a Million at leaſt, in that one Nation, having withdrawn hereby from all ſervice of Prince or People, Commonwealth or Country, and confined themſelves to the Cloyſter-life in Beads and Oraiſons, living wholly upon the Honey which the

the toyling Bee doth gather; which perhaps with another quarter million of another Sect, (I may err in both numbers, but I aim as near the Truth as by conjecture I can, proportioning the places where I have not been with those where I have) who have abandoned themselves to another Trade, as idle, but more wicked, devouring with mens goods their Bodies and Souls at once; may be the cause that that Country, though as populous as it can well bear, yet comes manifold parts short of that strength which in former times it hath had, either for defence of it self, or offence of his Neighbours, yet notwithstanding these are Theorems which few lift to speculate; the whole World running mainly to things sensible and perfect, and to that which profits them in their own particular, though it bring with it a certain hurt and final ruin of the publick; without the safety whereof to them that judge things rightly, neither any particular Estate can prosper.

Of their multitude of Hearts and Hands, Tongues and Pens.

But the benefit which the Papacy doth draw from these Friers, consisteth least in this point in the accommodating and yielding content to other: it stands in the **Multitude of Hearts and Hands**, of **Tongues and Pens**, dispersing in all Countries, but united in his Service, of men

men of moſt fiery and furious zeal, who with unceſſant induſtry, and reſolúteneſs incredible, give over no travail, leave no exploit ſo difficult and dangerous unattempted, for the upholding of the Papacy, and advancing of that Religion, on which all their comfort and credit in this life, all their hope of prerogative in the Life to come dependeth; being of the other ſide eſteemed for the moſt louſie Companions, the moſt unprofitable Drones, the moſt devouring Locuſts, the moſt Reprobate, Ignoble, Ignominious and wicked Race, that ever the World was yet peſtered with; in ſumm, more vile than the very Mire that they tread on.

There was never yet State ſo well plotted in this World, or furniſhed with ſuch ſtore of inſtruments to imploy in the ſervice thereof, as to be able to practiſe and perſwade with the multitude otherwiſe than in their publick Aſſemblings, or other Meetings, the Papacy only excepted: who by reaſon of the infinity of theſe Religious People, all made out of other Folks ſtuff, and maintained at other mens charge, is able, and doth deal in particular and private, as occaſion requireth, with Men, Women and Children, of how mean eſtate ſoever, inſtructing, exhorting, confirming, adjuring, kindling them in ſuch ſort, as makes fitteſt for their drift, and for the end they have propoſed.

The difference in force and effectualneſs of operation between which private Perſwaſions,

and

and thoſe publick Preachings, where the Hearers, according to the uſe of mans nature, neglect that in particular which is commended to their regard in common; though eaſie to conceive: Yet they only can ſufficiently perhaps eſteem, who have ſeen a Frier an abandoner of the World, a man wholly rapt with divine Affections and Extaſies; his Apparel denouncing contempt of all earthly Vanity, his Countenance preaching Severity, Penance and Diſcipline, breathing nothing but ſighs for the hatred of Sin, his Eyes lifted upwards, as fixed on his Joys; his Head bowed on the one ſide, with tenderneſs of love and humility, extending his ready Hand to lay hold on mens Souls, to ſnatch them out of the fiery Jaws of that gaping black Dragon, and to place them in the Path that conducts to Paradiſe; when ſuch a man, I ſay, ſhall addreſs himſelf to a Woman, whoſe Sex hath been famous ever for Devotion and credulouſneſs, or to any other vulgar Perſon of what ſort ſoever, perſwading, beſeeching with all plauſible motions of reaſon, yea with ſighs of fear, and tears of love, inſtanting and importuning no other thing at their hands than only this, to be content to ſuffer God to ſave their Souls, and to crown them with everlaſting happineſs: which they ſhall certainly attain by ranging themſelves with the Heavenly Army of God, that is, by adjoyning themſelves to the Church of Chriſt and his Vicar; and this

again

again and again at ſundry times iterated and purſued with ſhew of incredible care of their good, without ſeeking other meed or commodity to himſelf, ſave only of being the inſtrument of a Souls ſalvation. Is it to be marvailed though ſuch a man be received as an Angel of God, ſent expreſly for their ſalvation to whom he comes; though he prevail and poſſeſs them in ſuch forcible ſort, that no acceſs remain for any contrary perſwaſion; that nothing ſo violent which they will not attempt, nothing ſo dear which they will not beſtow for the advancement of that Church, by which themſelves hope finally to be ſo highly exalted? And although all Friers being of ſo divers mettal, are not able to play their parts ſo naturally, and with ſuch perfection as ſome that I have ſeen; yet being trained up in the ſame School, they all hold one courſe; and certainly by their dealing thus with men at ſingle hand in private, and particularly applyed perſwaſions, (which though they uſe not continually, yet neglect they not whenſoever opportunity doth require) they prevail as experience doth daily ſhew exceedingly.

Of their readineſs to undertake, and reſoluteneſs to execute.

What may I now ſay of their **Readineſs** to **Undertake**, and their **Reſoluteneſs** to **Execute**? what

What act, how dangerous and desperate soever, that may tend to the advancement of their Side or Order? I need not seek far back, nor far off for Examples. The late HENRY of *France*, slain by a *Jacobine*, and this man wounded by a Scholar of the Jesuites, the one for want of Zeal, only in their violent courses; the other as misdoubted of sincerity in his Conversion, may shew what measure their profest Enemies were to attend, if they could obtain as open and ready access unto them. At this present the King hath gone in danger of his Life a long while from a Capuchine, having at the Instigation, as is said of certain Jesuits of *Lorrain*, undertaken to dispatch him: whose Picture being brought hither by the MARQUIS DU PONT, caused search for him over all *Paris*, and at length he is taken, and lastly also executed, together with another *Jacobine*, convicted of the same Crime. And what may it not be thought these men would do, being commanded by their Generals, whom they have vowed to obey, and in the Popes necessary Service, and with his express desire; who are carried with so desperate rage and fury, against whatsoever Impediment their bare Conceipts, without warrant of higher Authority, present unto them? And as in violent attempts to be executed by themselves, they are men resolved and hardy, as having no Posterity to be oppressed by their Ruine; which of all other things doth contain

tain men moſt in duty; ſo in exciting the Multitude to Sedition and Tumult, in Favour of their Cauſe, and of their Catholick Religion, they are as ſedulous and ſecret, uſing the opportunity of Confeſſion to practiſe the Vulgar, with annexing of ſuch Conditions to the Abſolution they give them, as the turn which they intend to ſerve requires: a point very remarkable in weighing of the manifold fruits which at this day that Sacrament doth bear the Papacy.

Of late here at *Paris*, it hath been diſcovered, that certain Confeſſors having taken a ſolemn Promiſe of their Penitents, that they would live and die in the Catholick Religion, yea, and die for it alſo, if need ſhould require; have enjoyned them thereupon to oppoſe, by all means, againſt the verifying of the Kings Edict for the **Proteſtants**. Soon after enſued a general Rumour and Terrour of new maſſacres, though upon no other great ground, for all I can learn.

Of their very multitude of Fryers ready to be put in Arms.

But among many other points to be regarded in theſe Fryers, **Their very Multitude** ſeemeth to me to be one not of leaſt conſideration; if the Papacy being reduced to any terms of extremity, ſhould reſolve to **put them in Arms** for his final refuge and ſuccour.

The

The Franciſcans alone, in the time of SIXTUS QUINTUS, their Fellow and Father, are ſaid to have been found by ſurvey to be thirty thouſand. The Capuchins, a late Branch of them, do vaunt to be eight thouſand at this preſent. The Dominicans ſtrive in competency with the Franciſcans in all things. The Jeſuits great Statiſts, are withal exceeding rich, mighty, and many; but for their greedineſs of Wealth, and rare Practiſes to get it, infamous in all places. The Carmelitans and Auguſtines have their Hives in every Garden, and every where ſwarm. The other Orders of Fryers and Monks being exceeding many, complain not of paucity in their ſeveral Profeſſions. In ſumm, other Countries are ſown, but *Italy* thick ſtrewed with this kind of People, whoſe number perhaps in the whole, may paſs a Million of men; of which the one half at the leaſt, either are, or would eaſily grow to be of luſty able Bodies, not unfit to be ſoon employed in any Warlike Service. If the Pope having play'd away the reſt of his Pollicies, were brought to this laſt hand, to ſet up his reſt upon theſe men, what ſhould hinder him from raiſing huge Armies of them in all places? Their courſe of Life perhaps, their Vows and Profeſſion? whereof himſelf hath the Key to lock and open at pleaſure. Their unwillingneſs of mind, or backwardneſs to ſuch actions? Which cannot be imagined by them that know

their

their eagerneſs of ſpirit, and conſider withal their ſtanding only with his State, and falling with his Ruine. Their unaptneſs then and indiſpoſition of body? which faſting, watching, lying on the Ground, enduring cold, exact keeping of Orders, obedience to their Commanders, ought rather to make fit to all Military Diſcipline. The difficulty then of aſſembling them in ſuch caſes together? Here needs muſt I celebrate the excellency and exactneſs of their Order and Government, being ſuch as needeth not yield to any I know for that purpoſe. Each Order hath his General, reſiding at *Rome* for the moſt part, to adviſe with the Pope, and receive direction from him; who being men of great Reputation and Power, are choſen though in ſhew indifferently, by all the Maſters, that is, Doctors, of their Order whereſoever; yet in an Election ſo finely and cunningly contrived, that the Voices of *Italy* are far prædominant: even as in the Election of the Pope, the *Italian* Cardinals, and in their modern General Councils, the *Italian* Biſhops do far exceed all the reſt of Chriſtendom, that ſo the ſafety of the Papal See, and the greatneſs of *Rome* may reſt aſſured. Theſe Generals have under them their Provincials, as Lieutenants in every Province or State of Chriſtendom; and the Provincials have under them the ſeveral Priors of Convents, and theſe their Companies. A Commandment diſpatched away once from the

the General, passeth roundly by the Provincials to the Priors with all speed. Being received by the Inferiors, they address themselvs to performance: yea, though it command them a Voyage to *China* or *Peru*, without dispute or delay, they readily set forward.

To argue or debate their Superiors Mandates, were presumption; proud curiosity, to search their Reasons and Secrets; to detract or disobey them, breach of Vow equal to Sacriledge: so that as in a well-disciplined Army, the General guiding, the Souldiers follow; he commanding, they obey without farther question or doubt; so these have no other care than to perform with dexterity, what Mandate soever their General, in the plenitude of his Authority, shall address unto them. This Order, this Diligence, this Secrecy, this Obedience in a People that may wander without suspition in all places, and find good relief and aid in their Passage, will answer both the former and many other Objections; to which being added the good grace, wherein they are generally with the Vulgar, the means which they have to provide themselves of all things necessary; what with their repositories of Reliques and silver Images, what with Church-plate and Treasure, wherein some of them are exceeding rich, and daily encrease: unless the World should with general consent bend against them, it may be, if the times should enforce such em-

ployment, they would be able, being associated with such Favourers as they should find, to make a very strong part for the Pope in all places; especially considering that these Forces should be then raised out of his Enemies Countrey, and so weaken them, as Blood drawn out of the Veins of their own Bodies. And that no man may deceive himself with that errour, that in these Professors of Peace, there is no humour of War, that minds wholly possest with sweet contemplation, can embrace no thoughts of so bloody resolution; let him view but a little into the late French Troubles, he shall find that the Military Companies of the Leaguers, were often times even stuffed with Priests and Fryers, tall men and resolute. He shall find that of these People there have served, what in Field, what in Garrison, at one time, sufficient to have made a great Army of themselves only. He shall find that at *Orleans*, a Capuchine being expresly sent to that purpose by his Prior, went up and down the Streets with a great wooden Crosse, crying, "Come forth good Christian, "destroy the Enemies of the Crosse of thy "Saviour, and therewith put to the Sword at sundry times, sixscore of the Religion, till he left none remaining.

Lastly, he may understand, if he please, that very lately in *Paris*, some of them in their Sermons have incited: not obscurely to a new Massacre, complaining that the Body of this Realm

Realm is ſorely diſeaſed, being over-charged with corrupt humours, as not having been let blood theſe five and twenty years as it ought. To conclude, I conceive this Force of Fryers to be ſo great, what in regard of their very Multitude, what by reaſon of their deadly rage againſt their Oppoſites; that it will be hard for any State to bring in the Reformed Religion, without diſcharging it ſelf firſt of this difficulty and burthen.

In *Germany* the firſt Reformers of Religion in this Age were Fryers themſelves; who being men of great mark and reckoning amongſt their own, drew their Convents and other Troops of their Orders with them; and thereby ſet the reſt in ſuch an amazement and ſtand, that the Pope grew in a general great Jealouſy of them all, as doubting their univerſal Revolt from his Obedience. In *England* they were with great policy and practiſe diſſolved before any Innovation in Religion was mentioned; whereas to have done both together, had been perhaps impoſſible: but firſt clean preventing them of pretence of Religion, and after finding their Religion clean ſtripped of that Succour, both they were quietly ruined, and of this more quietly reformed.

In *France*, this King, upon that Outrage againſt his Perſon, ſmoaked the Jeſuits out of their Neſts in moſt parts of his Kingdom. If he had done the like alſo at the ſame time to the *Dominicans*, (a moſt potent and flouriſhing

Order in *Spain* above all other) in revenge of the Murther of the King, his Predeceſſor: or if he would and could do it, now to them and to the *Capuchins*, (who at this day next the Jeſuits are of greateſt renown) in puniſhment of theſe laſt practiſes ſo fortunately diſcovered; and ſo chaſtiſe the Schools alſo when he took their Shollars in ſo enormous Faults, there were great hope for the Reformed Religion in time to prevail: which is now ſo prejudiced and perſecuted by theſe Fryers, that hardly can it keep foot on the ground it hath. Thus much of the ſtrength which theſe Religious Orders do yield to the Papacy.

Of their Spiritual Fraternities.

Whereto I muſt add the like Invention of Spiritual Fraternities and Companies, perhaps equalling, yea, exceeding in number the Orders of Fryers: in which, under the protection, and in honour of ſome Saint, or of any other Holy Name, or Religious Myſtery, and often times annexing themſelves to ſome of the Orders of Fryers, the Lay-people of all ſorts, both men and women, both ſingle and married, do enrole themſelves into one or more of theſe Societies, approaching ſo much nearer to the Eſtate of the Clergy, unto which ſundry of them are no other than meer appurtenances. Whereby, as they tye themſelves to the Orders of them, conſiſting in certain extraor-

extraordinary Devotions and Proceſſions, bearing alſo at certain times ſome Badg of their Company: ſo are they made partakers of all ſuch ſpiritual Prerogatives, whether Partnerſhip in the Churches Merits, or Intereſt in ſundry Indulgences, ſome half plenary, ſome whole, ſome for the time paſt, ſome before hand for ſundry years to come, and chiefly the avoiding or ſpeedy diſpatch out of Purgatory, as the Pope and his Anceſtors, for the encouragement and comfort of Chriſtian People in their Devotion, have thought good in their Charity to grant unto them. Theſe Fraternities are not yet grown into any great requeſt in other places: Howbeit in *Italy* they have ſo multiplied, that few, eſpecially of the vulgar and middle ſort of men, who either are or affect any reputation of devotion, but have entred into ſome one of them, and ſundry into many. The aſſurance of whom to the Papacy, muſt needs be doubled; ſince love groweth according to the proportion of hope.

Of the Policies of the Papacy againſt their Enemies, and of their Perſecutions, Confiſcations, Tortures, Maſſacres, and Hoſtilities.

Now come I to the laſt rank of Roman **Policies** arraigned **againſt their** profeſſed and feared **Enemies**, by vertue whereof, they both ſeek to re-enter where they have in this latter

Age been diſeaſed; and practiſe as well for the waſting away of their Oppoſites where they are, as for the ſhutting of them and their Doctrine out where they have not yet been. I will not here enlarge upon things manifeſt and ordinary, being High-ways ſo plain, that a Guide were needleſs. Their **Perſecutions**, their **Confiſcations**, their **Tortures**, their **Burnings**, their ſecret **Murthers**, their general **Maſſacres**, their exciting of inward **Sedition** and outward **Hoſtility** againſt their Adverſaries; their oppreſſing and abaſing them where themſelves are the ſtronger, are things whereof they were none of the Inventors; though perhaps the commendation of exact refining them, of ſtraining them to their higheſt note, of ſedulity and perſeverance in putting them in execution, may be more due and proper unto them than any other. Neither yet will I meddle greatly with their Art of ſlandering their Oppoſites, of diſgracing their Perſons, mis-reporting their Actions, falſifying their Doctrine and Poſitions; things wherewith their Pulpits do daily ſound, and their Writings ſwell again. But they are not the firſt neither that have run this black courſe, no more than the former red: others have done it before them; yea, the buying of mens Conſciences, by propoſing Reward to ſuch as ſhall relinquiſh the Proteſtant Religion, and turn to theirs; as in *Auſpurgh*, where they ſay there is a known price for it, of ten Florens a year

a year; in *France*, where the Clergy have made Contributions for the maintainance of renegade Miniſters paſt and to come; is a device alſo not freſh and of eaſie conceit. I will rather inſiſt upon their Inventions leſs trivial, and more worthy to be marked. A wonderful thing it is, to conſider the great diverſity of humors, or tempers of mind, ſhall I term them, which this Age hath produced in this one point we ſpeak of, touching the means of growing onward upon the adverſary part. A ſort of men there lives in the World at this day, whoſe Leaders, whether upon extremity of hatred of the Church of *Rome*, or partly alſo upon ſome ſpice of ſelf-liking and ſingularity, to value their own Wits and peculiar Devices, did cut out in ſuch ſort their Reformation of Religion, as not only in all outward Religious Services and Ceremonies in Government and Church-Diſcipline; to ſtrive to be as unlike to the Papacy as was poſſible, but even in very lawful Policies for the advantaging and advancing of their part, to diſdain to ſeem to any to be Imitators of their Wiſdom, whoſe wickedneſs they ſo much abhorred; much like to a ſtout-hearted and ſtiff-witted Captain, who ſcorns to imitate any Stratagem, before uſed by the Enemy, though the putting it in exploit might give him aſſured Victory. Neither do thoſe mens Schollars as yet a whit degenerate; yea, perhaps that Diſeaſe (if with leave I may ſo cenſure it)

hath tainted in ſome degree all the Proteſtant Party, who never could find the means in all this Age to aſſemble a General Council of all their ſide, for the compoſing of their differences, and ſetting order in their Proceedings; for want, I muſt confeſs, of ſome opportunities, but of a great deal of zeal alſo in their Governours, as to me it ſeemeth. Neither yet have they in any one of all their Dominions, erected any Colledge of meer contemplative Perſons, to confront and oppoſe againſt the Jeſuits; but have left this weighty burthen of clearing the Controverſies, of perfecting the Sciences, of anſwering the Adverſaries Writings of exceeding huge travail, either upon their ordinary Miniſters, to be performed at times of leiſure from their Office of preaching (and they perform it accordingly) or upon ſuch as in Univerſities having ſome large ſcope, ſhall willingly, and of their own accord, undertake it for ſome time, according to their abode.

Whereas on the contrary ſide, the Papacy ſeems unto me very diligently and attentively to have **conſidered** and weighed, **by what means** chiefly **their adverſe Part hath grown ſo faſt**, beyond either their own expectation, or the fear of their Enemies; as in leſs than an Age, to have won perhaps a Moyety of their Empire from them, and thoſe very means themſelves to have reſolved thence forward to apply in ſtrong practiſe on their ſide alſo; that

that ſo as by a Countermine they may either blow up the Mines of their Adverſaries, or at leaſtwiſe, give them ſtop from any farther proceeding: Like a politick General, who holdeth it the greateſt Wiſdom, to out-go his Enemy in his own Devices, and the greateſt Valour, to beat him at his own Weapons. I will not here preſume to preſs in with my determination upon this great difference and queſtion, although it ſeeming to me to be no other than a plain Quarrel between Stomach and Diſcretion; a ſmall deal of Wiſdom methinks might decide it: eſpecially conſidering that all good things are from God, though they be found in his very Enemy; and whoſoever is not unjuſt, being uſed in a good courſe, is good.

Of the Reformers of Proteſtants Preaching.

The firſt and chief means whereby the **Reformers** of **Religion** did prevail in all places, was their ſingular aſſiduity and dexterity in **Preaching**, eſpecially in great Cities and Palaces of Princes; (a Trade at that time grown clean in a manner out of uſe and requeſt) whereby the People being raviſhed with the admiration and love of that Light which ſo brightly ſhined unto them, as men with the Sun, who are newly drawn from a Dungeon; did readily follow thoſe who carried ſo fair a Lamp before them. Hereto may be added,

their

their publiſhing of Treatiſes of Vertue and Piety, of Spiritual Exerciſes and Devotion; which ingendred a firm Perſwaſion in the minds of men, that the Soil muſt needs be pure, ſound and good, from whence ſo ſweet, ſo wholſome, and ſo heavenly Fruits had proceeded. Now though the Opinions of the Papacy, and of a great part of the Reformed Religion, be as oppoſite herein well-nigh, as Heat and Cold, as Light and Darkneſs; the one approving no devotions ſevered from underſtanding, to be a means often rather to divert or dazel the Devotion, than to direct and cheriſh it; and for preaching in like ſort, the French Proteſtants making it an eſſential and chief part of the Service of God; whereas the *Romaniſts* make the Maſs only a work of duty, and the going to a Sermon but a matter of convenience, and ſuch as is left free to mens Pleaſures and Opportunities, without imputation or ſin; yet in regard of the great ſway which they have learned by their loſs, that theſe carry in the drawing of mens Minds and Affections, they have endeavoured in all places, in both theſe kinds, to equal, yea, and ſurmount their Adverſaries. For although in multitude of Preachers, they greatly come ſhort, being an Exerciſe wherein the Secular Prieſts liſt not to diſtemper their Brains much, but commend it, in a manner, wholly to the Regulars and Fryers; and theſe thinking the Country Capacities too blockiſh,

or

or otherwiſe not worth the beſtowing of ſo great coſt on, do employ themſelves wholly in Cities, and other places of greater reſort; all which they have great care to have competently furniſhed: yet in the choice of them whom they ſend out to preach, in the diligence and pains which they take in their Sermons, in the Ornaments of Eloquence, and grace of action, in their ſhew of Piety and Reverence towards God, of Zeal towards his Truth, of Love towards his People; which even with their Tears they can often teſtifie: they match their Adverſaries in their beſt, and in the reſt do far exceed them. But herein the Jeſuits do carry the Bell from all other; having attained the Commendation, and working the effect, of as perfect Orators as theſe times do yield. And of theſe, beſides certain drawn yearly by Lot to go preach abroad among Infidels and Hereticks; and beſides other times of the year, wherein they preach to their Catholicks, at Lent in eſpecial, by order from their General, reſiding at *Rome*, their choice Preachers are ſent out, one to each City in *Italy*, with yearly change. And the Cuſtome of *Italy*, is for the ſame man to preach every day in Lent without intermiſſion, if their ſtrength will ſerve them; whereof ſix days in the week to preach on the Goſpels apportioned, and the *Saturday* in Honour and Praiſe of our Lady. So in their yearly change, there is the delight of Varieties;

varieties; and in their daily continuing of the ſame, the admiration of induſtry. Some ſuch like courſe it is to be thought, that the Jeſuits hold alſo in other Countries, their Projects being certain, and exactly purſued. But wonderful is the reputation which redounds thereby to their Order, and exceeding the advantage which to their ſide it giveth.

For Books of Prayer and Piety, all Countries are full of them at this day in their own Language: both to ſtop in part the Out-cry of their Adverſaries againſt them, for impriſoning the People wholly in thoſe dark Devotions; and ſpecially to win the Love of the World unto them by this more inward and lively ſhew of true Sanctity and Godlineſs: Yea, herein they conceive to have ſo ſurpaſſed their Oppoſites, that they forbear not to reproach unto them their Poverty, weakneſs, and coldneſs in that kind, as being forced to take the Catholicks Books to ſupply therein. Which as on this ſide it cannot be altogether denied to be true; ſo on the other ſide it had greatly been to be wiſhed, that thoſe Books of Chriſtian Reſolution and Exerciſe had been the Fruits of the Conſciences, rather than of the Wits of thoſe that made them; (which in ſome of them, as PARSONS by name, to have been otherwiſe, beſides the reſt of his Actions unſuitable to thoſe Reſolutions; ſome of the more zealous alſo in their way, have not forborn to confeſs:)

feſs:) that by performing of ſo good works with a good mind, to a good end, and conforming their own Lives and Demeanors accordingly, they might have prepared mens minds to an hope of a thorough Reconciliation; whereas now by uſing Holineſs it ſelf for a meer inſtrument of Practiſes, and to win men to their Party; they cannot but drive the World into ſuch a Labyrinth of Perplexities and Jealouſies, as to ſuſpect always their Policies, and deſpair of their Honeſties.

Of their well Educating of Youth.

A ſecond thing whereby the Proteſtant part hath ſo greatly enlarged, hath been their well Educating of Youth, eſpecially in the Principles of Chriſtian Religion and Piety: wherein their care and continuance is even at this day, in many places, very worthy to be commended of all, and imitated by them, who have hitherto been more remiſs in that kind than were requiſite; the Education of Youth, and ſowing in thoſe pure minds the ſeeds of Vertue and Truth, before the Weeds of the World do canker and change the Soil, being by the conſent of the moſt renowned wiſe men in the World, a point of incomparable force and moment for the well ordering and governing of all kind of States, and for the making of Common-wealths ever flouriſhing and happy.

And

And as good Education is the preſervation of a good State; ſo all kind of Education conforming to the Laws and Cuſtoms in being, upholdeth States in the terms wherein they are, the firſt ſeaſoning with Opinions and accuſtomances whatſoever, being of double force to any ſecond perſwaſions and uſages: not comprifing herein thoſe nimble and quick-ſilver'd brains which itch after change, liking in their Opinions, as in their Garments, to be noted to be followers of Outlandiſh Faſhions, as being of a more refined and ſublimated temper than that their Country Conceits can ſatisfie. Herein then the Papacy being taken ſhort by the Proteſtants (even as in the former) and mightily over-run ere they were aware thereof, notwithſtanding as difficulties do rather kindle than daunt the generous Spirits, and add that to their diligence which was wanting in their timelineſs; ſo theſe men have beſtirred themſelves ſo well therein, to follow the trace which their Adverſaries had led them, that in fine, they have in ſome ſorts outgrown them in it, and quoted them in all, one only excepted, that they reſpect not much the inſtruction of the Children of the meaner ſort; as being likely to ſway little; whereas the Proteſtants ſeem, in Religious inſtruction, indifferent to both. But for the reſt, what is it they have omitted? What Colledges for their own? What Seminaries for Strangers, to ſupport and perpetuate their Factions and Practiſes

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in their Enemies Dominions, have they not inſtituted almoſt in all parts of Chriſtendom, and maintained ſtill at their own and Favourites charge? Is it a ſmall brag which ſome of their ſide do make, that their Engliſh Seminaries abroad, ſend forth more Prieſts than our two Univerſities at home do Miniſters? Behold alſo the Jeſuits, the great Clerks, Politicians and Orators of the World, who vaunt that the Church is the Soul of the World, the Clergy of the Church, and they of the Clergy; do ſtoop alſo to this burthen, and require it to be charged wholly upon their Necks and Shoulders. In all places where-ever they can plant their Neſts, they open free-Schools for all Studies of Humanity. To theſe Flock the beſt Wits, and principal mens Sons, in ſo great abundance, that where-ever they ſettle, other Colledges become deſolate, or frequented only by the baſer ſort, and of heavier Metal: And in truth, ſuch is their diligence and dexterity in inſtructing, that even the Proteſtants in ſome places ſend their Sons unto their Schools, upon deſire to have them prove excellent in thoſe Arts they teach. Beſides which, being in truth but a bait and allurement, whereto to faſten their principal and final hook; they plant in their Scholars with great exactneſs and skill, the Roots of their Religion, and nouriſh them with an extream hatred and deteſtation of the adverſe Party. And to make them for ever intractable of any con-

contrary Perſwaſion; they work into them by great cunning and obſtinacy of mind, and ſturdy eagerneſs of ſpirit, to affect victory with all violence of wit in all their Conſertations: Than which, no greater Enemy to the finding of truth; which being pure and ſingle in his own nature and author, appeareth not but to a clear and ſincere underſtanding, whom neither the fumes of fiery paſſions do miſten, nor ſiniſter reſpects or prejudices ſway down on either ſide from the pitch of juſt Integrity. Neither think I any unfitter ſort of men in the World to be employed in the contemplation and ſearch of truth, than theſe hot men and heady, who being ſudden in their actions, riſe lightly in that which cometh firſt to hand, and being ſtiff in their reſolutions, are tranſported with every præjudicate Conceit from one error into another; having neither the patience they ſhould, to weigh all points diligently; nor the humility to yield up their own fancies to reaſon; neither yet that high honourable wiſdom, as to know that truth being the mark they profeſs to ſtrive at; in the overthrow of their Errors, they attain the ſum of their deſires, and remain Conquerors by being conquered. Yea, ſundry times have I ſeen two eager Diſputers looſe the Truth, and let it fall to the ground between them, which a calm-minded hearer hath taken up and poſſeſſed. But theſe Jeſuits preſuming, perhaps of the Truth beforehand, and labouring

ing for no other thing, then the advancing of their Party, endeavour, as I ſaid, by all means to imbreed that fierceneſs and obſtinacy in their Scholars, as to make them hot Proſecutors of their own Opinions, impatient and intractable of any contrary conſiderations; as having their eyes fixt upon nothing, ſave only victory in arguing. For which cauſe to ſtrengthen in them thoſe paſſions by exerciſe; I have ſeen them in their bare Grammatical Diſputations enflame their Scholars with ſuch earneſtneſs and fierceneſs, as to ſeem to be at the point of flying each in the others faces, to the amazement of thoſe Strangers which had never ſeen the like before, but to their own great content and glory as appeared. Over and above all this, they have inſtituted in their Schools a ſpecial Fraternity or Congregation of our Lady, with certain ſelect Exerciſes and Devotions: into which, it being a reputation to be admitted, it muſt cauſe incongruity, the forwardeſt of their Scholars to faſhion themſelves by all means as to content their humors: and ſo to be received in ſhew into a degree of more honourable eſtimation, but in truth unto no other than a double bond of aſſurance. I ſhall not need here to inſert their ſingular diligence and cunning in enticing, not ſeldom the moſt Noble of their Scholars, and often times the moſt adorned with the graces of nature and induſtry: eſpecially if they have likelihood of any wealthy

thy Succeſſion, to abandon their Friends, and to profeſs their Order; (a thing daily practiſed by them in all places:) yea, where-ever they eſpy any Youth of rarer Spirit, they will be tampering with him, though he be the only Son and Solace of his Father.

Whereby, though they draw on them much clamor and ſtomach, yet do they greatly enhaunce the renown of their Society, by furniſhing it with ſo many perſons of excellent Quality or Nobility, whom afterwards they employ with great judgment, as they find each fitteſt. Neither yet do they here make an end with this part; this Order hath alſo their ſolemn Catechiſing in their Churches on Sundays and Holydays, for all Youth that will come, or can be drawn unto it; that in no point the diligence of their Adverſaries may upbraid them.

But this point of their Schools and inſtructing Youth, is thought of ſuch moment by men of wiſdom and judgment, being taught ſo by very experience and tryal thereof; that the planting of a good Colledge of Jeſuits in any place, is eſteemed the only ſure way to replant that Religion, and in time to eat out the contrary. This courſe hold they in all *Germany*, in *Savoy*, and other places; and the excluding it from *France*, is infinitely regretted, and that which makes them uncertain what will become of that Kingdom.

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Of their Offers of Diſputation.

A third courſe that much advantaged the Proteſtants Proceedings, was their **Offers of Diſputation** to their Adverſaries in all places; their iterated and importuned Suits for publick Audience and Judgment: a thing which greatly aſſured the multitude of their ſoundneſs, whom they ſaw ſo confident in abiding the hazard of tryal, being that whereof the want is the only prejudice of Truth, and the plenty the only diſcovery and ruine of Falſe hood; they ſtanding in like terms as a ſubſtantial juſt man, and a facing ſhifter, whereof the ones credit is greateſt there where he is beſt known, and the others where he is leaſt. And by reaſon that the *Romaniſts* were not ſo cunning then in the Queſtions, nor ſo ready in their Evaſions and Diſtinctions as they are now grown: the effect of theſe Diſputations, whether received or refuſed, was in moſt places ſuch as to draw with them an immediate alteration of Religion.

Hereunto may be added thoſe admirable pains which thoſe firſt Reformers undertook and performed, in tranſlating the Scriptures forthwith into all Languages, in illuſtrating all parts thereof with ample Comments, in addreſſing Inſtitutions of Chriſtian Religion, in deducing large Hiſtories of the Church from the Foundation to their preſent times, in

furniſhing all common places of Divinity with abundance of matter, in exact diſcuſſing of all controverſed queſtions; and laſtly, in ſpeedy reply to all contrary Writings: the greateſt part of theſe Labours, tending to the juſtifying of their own Doctrine, and to the diſcovery of the corruption and rottenneſs of the other; that they might over-bear thoſe with the ſtreams of the evidence of reaſon, by the ſtrength of whoſe power they complained to be over-born. There is not ſcarce any one of theſe kinds of writings (ſave the tranſlating of the Bible into vulgar Languages) wherein the *Romaniſts* have not already, or are not like very ſhortly, either to equal, or to exceed their Adverſaries: in multitude of works, as being more of them that apply thoſe ſtudies; in diligence, as having much more opportunities of helps and leiſure; in exactneſs, as coming after them, and reaping the fruits of their Travails; though, in truth, they come ſhort, and in ingenuity, being Truths companion. But as for the Controverſies themſelves, the main matter of all other, therein their induſtry is at this day incomparable: having ſo altered the Tenures of them, refined the ſtates, ſubtilized the diſtinctions, ſharpned their own proofs, deviſed certain, and reſolved on either Anſwers or Evaſions for all their Adverſaries Arguments, Allegations and Replies; (yea, they have Differences to divert their ſtrongeſt Oppoſitions, Interpretations to elude the plain-

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eſt Texts in the World, Circumſtances and Conſiderations to enforce their own ſeelieſt Conjectures; yea, reaſons to put life into their deadeſt Abſurdities; as in particular, a very fair caſe in School-learning and proportions, to juſtifie their Popes Grants of many ſcore thouſand years Pardon;) that in affiance of this furniture, and of their promptneſs of ſpeech and wit, which by continual exerciſe they aſpire to perfect; they dare enter into combate even with the beſt of their Oppugners, and will not doubt but either to entangle him ſo in the Snares of their own Quirks, or at leaſtwiſe, ſo to avoid and put off his Blows with the manifold wards of their multiplied diſtinctions, that an ordinary Auditor ſhall never conceive them to be vanquiſhed, and a favourable ſhall report them Vanquiſhers.

Whereupon they, now to be quit with their Adverſaries, and by the very ſame Art, to draw away the Multitude, cry mainly in all places for tryal by diſputations. This *Campian* the Jeſuit did many years ſince with us; this, as I paſſed through *Zurick*, did the Cardinal *Andrea* of *Conſtance*, and his Jeſuits with their Miniſters, being by antient Right within his Dioceſs. Not long before, the ſame was done at *Geneva*, and very lately the *Capuchins* renewed the Challenge. In which parts I obſerved this diſcreet valour on both ſides; that as the *Romaniſts* offer to diſpute in

the Adverſaries own Cities, which they know their Magiſtrates will never accord; ſo the Miniſters in ſupply thereof, offer to go to them to their Cities, and that now is as much diſliked on the other part; each ſide being content that the fire ſhould be kindled, rather in his Enemies Houſe, than in his own. Yea, there are not wanting ſome temperers among them, that have been talking a long while (whether out of their own Dreams, or out of the deſires of ſome greater perſons, which I half conjecture) of a **General Solemn Conference** to be ſought and procured of the choiſe and chief every way of both the ſides; under pretence of drawing matters to ſome tolerable compoſition; but in truth, as I conceive, rather to overbear and diſgrace the contrary cauſe, with their variety of Engines, and ſtrength of Wit to wield them at all aſſays at pleaſure, than upon ſincerity of affections, or probability of any unity or peace to enſue. So great is their hope of having cure by that very Weapon from whence heretofore they have had their Wounds.

Of their diſcovery of Blots.

The fourth way that mightily afflicted the Papacy, and conſequently advanced the Reformation in her proceedings, was a courſe in my Opinion, ſurely more excuſable, where it cannot, than commendable, where it can be ſpared:

ſpared: and that is the Diſcovery of the private Blots of an enemy, farther than the queſtion in hand conſtraineth. Howſoever, the Proteſtants, at leaſtwiſe ſundry of them, by example of thoſe ancient renowned Orators, ripped up to the quick the Lives of their Adverſaries in their particular actions, eſpecially of the Popes and of their Prelates, as alſo of their Votaries of all ſorts and Sexes.

Wherein the ſtore of matter was ſo huge, the quality of it ſo enormous, loathſome and ugly, matchable in all kind of Villany to the verieſt monſters of the Heathen; the Perſons defiled with it, of ſo eminent place in the ſteering and upholding of their Church; and laſtly, the truth thereof ſo undoubted and certain, being drawn from the times paſt out of their own Stories and Authors, Printed and approved among themſelves to be true for that preſent, being of things done ordinarily for the moſt part, and openly in the ſight of all men at *Rome*, and in *Italy*, (even as they continue perhaps not much better in many things at this very day:) that the publiſhing and preſenting it to the prepared minds of the world, beſides an extream horror and deteſtation which it brought, did work in them this perſwaſion alſo, that it could not be but Hell Gates had prevailed againſt that See, whoſe Governours, whoſe Prelates, whoſe Prieſts, whoſe Virgins, had lived moſt of them ſo long time in the very jaws of the Prince of Hell,

neither that it was probable they had been careful in preſerving the Doctrine of Chriſtianity, who had been ſo careleſs of all parts of Chriſtian Life and Honeſty. And as in their Lives, ſo in their Writings alſo of Doctrine and Devotion, and in their Actions concerning them; their defying of the Pope with moſt impious flattery; their abuſing of the Scriptures with all Irreverence and Prophanity; their jugling in their Images, to make them weep, ſweat and bleed, to raiſe in the People a Devotion towards them of Heathenish Idolatry; their forging of Miracles in Exorciſms, in Cures, in Apparition of Souls, for their lucre and advantage; their granting of Pardons to ſome Prayers before Images for XXX. thouſand long years; their Pardons for Sins to come, before they be committed; their ſhameleſs and ridiculous Tales of our Saviour and the Saints, making Marriages here upon Earth between him and ſome of their Women Saints, with infinite childiſh Vanity and ſottiſh Abſurdity, as to their Adverſaries it ſeemed; (though themſelves, I muſt confeſs, conceive otherwiſe of them, ſome of their graver Doctors both preaching them ſtill in Pulpit, and publiſhing them newly in ample and elaborate Hiſtories;) their promiſing to the uſe of certain devotions to our Lady, to have a ſight of her ſometime before their dying days; adding to this, and much more, their falſifying and forgery in all matters of Anti-

Antiquity, thruſting in, cutting out, ſuppreſſind true, ſuborning feigned Writings, as their turns did require: all which, though being in this ſort unto them, they had either their allegations of good intents to defend; or at leaſtwiſe their commiſerations of humane infirmity to excuſe them: yet were they not ſo waſhed away from the minds of the People, who could not conceive this Houſe to have been guided by the Spirit of God, wherein they ſaw ſo many foul Spirits of Pride and Hypocriſie, of Lying and Deceiving, to have born ſo great Office ſo long, and without controulment. Theſe things being perceived by the Favourites of the Papacy to have made ſo deep impreſſion in the hearts of all men, and to have greatly prejudiced them in their more plauſible allegations, mens hearts being already taken up and fraught with deteſting them; they have caſt about for revenge and redreſs in the ſame kind; not as the plain blunt Proteſtant, who finding all his matter made ready to his hands, beſtowed no other coſt, but the collecting and ſetting it in ſome order together; but like a ſupernatural Artiſt, who in the ſublimity of his refined and refining Wit, diſdains to bring only meer Art to his Work, unleſs he make alſo in ſome ſort the very matter it ſelf; ſo theſe men in blacking the Lives and Actions of the Reformes, have partly deviſed matter of ſo notorious untruth, that in the better ſort of their own Writers it hap-

happens to be checked; partly ſuborned other Poſt-men to compoſe their Legends, that afterwards they might cite them in proof to the world as approved Authors and Hiſtories; as is evident in the Lives of CALVIN and BEZA, written by their ſworn Enemy *Bolſacke*, the twice baniſhed, and thrice renegate Fryer and Phyſitian, for thoſe names his often changes and hard chances have given him.

This man being requeſted by their ſide to write thus, is now in all their Writings alledged as Claſſical and Canonical. But in this kind ſurely methinks the conditions of theſe Parties are too too unequal. For the Proteſtant, whatſoever he ſay, either in impeaching his Adverſary, or clearing his own actions, unleſs he can directly prove it out of the Adverſaries own Writings, it is with them as nothing, and no better than are *Teſtes Domeſtici* in the Law: whereas the *Romaniſt*, whatſoever he ſlanderouſly ſurmiſeth, unleſs the other Party be able by direct proof to diſprove it, (which being to juſtifie the negative, is always very difficult, and for the moſt part impoſſible;) he triumphs as in a matter of truth not to be gainſaid; and howſoever makes his accompt, that in theſe kinds of Blows, even where the Wound is cured, the skar lightly continueth. At this preſent they give out, that they have a Book in hand of the Lives of the Miniſters of *England*, amongſt whom it were to be wiſhed, that ſome, who

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by their examples in diſſoluteneſs and corruption, have given occaſion of offence againſt the Order it ſelf, might by their exemplary puniſhment withall expiate the Reproach.

Though at theſe mens hands, who, in diſgrace of our Prelates, have cited MARPRELATE in their late Books for a grave Author and Witneſs, and others of like and leſs indifferency and honeſty: the innocent and culpable are to expect perhaps like meaſure. Then for the Writings and Doctrine of the Proteſtants, the Books of ſome of our own Country-men, beſides many other are famous, who have taken a toil, how meritorious God knows, ſurely very laborious, out of infinite huge Volums, which that part hath written, to pick out whatſoever, eſpecially ſevered from the reſt, may ſeem to be either abſurdly, or falſly, or fondly, or ſcandalouſly, or diſhoneſtly, or paſſionately, or fluttiſhly conceived or written; for even in that kind, having the advantage of the homely phraſe of our Country, and namely in thoſe times they have not ſpared: and theſe with their croſſings and contradictings one of another, ſet cunningly together, they preſent to the view of the World, and demand whether it be likely that theſe men ſhould have been choſen extraordinarily by God, to be the Reformers of the Church, and Reſtorers of his Truth, who beſides their vitious Lives and hateful Conditions, in their more ſober thoughts and very

Doctrine

Doctrine it ſelf, were poſſeſſed with ſo phantaſtical, ſo wild, ſo contrary, ſo furious, ſo maledicent, and ſo ſlovenly ſpirits. Wherein, as they do in ſome ſort imitate their Adverſaries; ſo yet with this difference, that the one hath objected that, which either as being the approved Doctrine of their Church, was with publick Authority, delivered unto the People; or elſe, which was ſo uſual amongſt their Canoniſts and Clergy, as might plead uncontroulled Cuſtom to ſhew it lawful. Whereas the other part, finding belike ſmall ſtore of that nature, have run for ſupply to every particular mans Writings: wherein, in ſo huge a multitude of Authors and Works, as in this over-rank Age, mens Fingers over-itching, have produced; it had been ſurely a great Miracle, if they ſhould not have found matter enough, either worthy to be blamed, or eaſie to be depraved in their Enemies Writings; one of the moſt renowned Sages and Fathers of the ancient, having found ſo much to condemn and retract in his own. And if the Proteſtants ſhould liſt to requite them in that kind, they might perhaps find ſtuff enough, I will not ſay as one doth, to load an *Argoſie*, but to over-lade any mans wit in the World to reply to. But verily theſe courſes are baſe and beggarly, even when ſingleneſs of mind and truth doth concur with them, and far unworthy of an ingenuous and noble ſpirit, which ſoreth up to the higheſt and pur-

pureſt paths of verity, diſdaining to ſtand raking in theſe puddles of Obſcœnity: unworthy of that charitable and vertuous mind, which ſtriveth by doing good to all, to attain the high honour of being an imitator of God; which is ſory of thoſe very thoughts that infect his Enemy, and diſcloſeth them no farther than is neceſſary, either for defence of impugned truth, or for warning unto the World to avoid the contagion of the Diſeaſe, or ſeducement by the dangerouſly an unapparently diſeaſed. But if to this baſeneſs of diſcoveries, other injuſtice be alſo added; if malice prefer them, if ſleight increaſe them, if falſhood and ſlander taint them: then do they not only abaſe men from the dignity of their nature, but even aſſociate them with the foul Enemy and Calumniator thereof, whoſe name is the ſlanderous Accuſer of his Brethren. I ſuppoſe there was never man ſo patient in the World, (that Pattern of all perfection, our bleſſed Saviour excepted) but if a man ſhould heap together all the chollerick Speeches, all the way-ward Actions, that ever eſcaped from him in his Life, and preſent them in one view, all continuate together, (as is the faſhion of ſome men) it would repreſent him for a furious and raving Bedlam; whom diſplaying all his life in the ſame tenor it was led, the whole World might well admire for his courteſie, ſtaidneſs, moderation and magnanimity. They that obſerve nothing in wiſe men but

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their Over-ſights and Follies, nothing in men of Vertue but their Faults and Imperfections, from which neither the wiſeſt nor the perfecteſt have been free: what do they but propoſe them as matter of ſcorn and abhorring, whom God having endued with principal Graces, hath marked out for very patterns of Honour to imitate. Yea, this Age hath brought out thoſe curſt and thrice accurſed Wits, who by culling out the errors and ſhews of errors, by formalizing the Contrarieties; miſ-interpreting the ambiguity, intangling more the obſcurities, which in the moſt renowned Authors for humane wiſdom that were ever in the World, their envious and malitious fine brains could ſearch; (imitating him therein, who by his Labours of the very ſame nature, though with leſs, and no ground at all, againſt the ſacred Bible, purchaſed the infamous name of the Enemy of Chriſtianity) have done that hurt unto the Studies of Learning, which nothing but utter extinguiſhing of their unlearned Works can expiate. But of this matter ſufficient.

Of their Hiſtories and Martyrologies.

The laſt means I will hear ſpeak of, that were uſed in ſetting forward the Reformation of Religion, was the diligent compiling of the Hiſtories of thoſe Times and Actions, and eſpecially the Martyrologies of ſuch as rendred by

by their Deaths a Teſtimony to that Truth which was perſecuted in them. Theſe memories and Stories preſenting generally to the World, the ſingleneſs and innocency of the one part, the integrity of their Lives, the ſimplicity of their Devices, the zeal of their Deſires, their conſtancies in Temptations, their tollerancy in Torments, their magnanimous and cœleſtial inſpired Courage and Comfort in their very Agonies and Deaths, yielding their Bodies with all patience to the furious Flames, and their Souls, with all joy, into the hands of him that made them: On the other ſide, repreſenting a ſerpentine Generation, wholly made of Fraud, of Policies and Practiſes, Men-lovers of the World, and Haters of Truth and Godlineſs; Fighters againſt the Light, Portectors of Darkneſs, Perſecutors of Marriage, and Patrons of Brothels, Abrogators and diſpenſers againſt the Laws of God, but tyrannous Importuners and Exacters of their own; men falſe in their Promiſes, treacherous in their Pretences, barbarous in their Executions, breathing nothing but Cruelty, but Fire and Sword againſt men that had not offended them, ſave in their deſire to amend them, which could not endure; (and much of this ſet out in ſundry places with Pictures alſo, to imprint thereby a more lively ſenſe of commiſeration of the one part, and deſtation of the other) did breed in mens minds a very ſtrong conceit, that on the one ſide Truth and

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Innocence was perſecuted, on the other ſide Violence and Deceit did perſecute; that the one part, contrary to all humane probability, being nouriſhed with the only Dew of Divine Benediction, did flouriſh in the Flames, and like Camomile, ſpread abroad by being trod under foot; the other, notwithſtanding all humane and infernal Succours and Devices, yet being curſed from above, did fade, and would come to ruine. The Papacy being netled extreamly by theſe proceedings, hath reſolved firſt to give over the kindling any more of thoſe unfortunate Fires, (ſave in places of ſecurity to keep that law in uſage) the Aſhes of which they have perceived to have been the ſeed of their Adverſaries; but rather by ſecret makings of men away in their Inquiſitions (for which purpoſe, as ſome of their own Friends in *Italy* have reported, whether truly or falſly, I am not able to affirm) they have their Trap-doors or Pit-falls in dark melancholly Chambers, or ſuch other Devices perhaps, and chiefly by general Maſſacres to extinguiſh them. Then to affront them in the ſame kind of Martyrologies and Hiſtories, they have firſt cauſed ſundry new Frierly Stories to be written alſo in their Favour: making in them a repreſentation of Authority and Juſtice, proceeding by politick execution of Law in the neceſſary defence of Gods Church and Prieſts, and of Catholick States and Princes, againſt a company of baſe Rebels, and

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Vow-breaking Friers, of Church-Robbing Politicians, and Church-razing Souldiers, of infected and infecting, both Schismaticks and Hereticks, Innovators of Orders, Underminers of Government, Troublers of States, Overturners of Christendom: against whom, if they have not hitherto sufficiently prevailed, it is to be attributed only to the force of Popular Fury, and not to any strength and goodness of their Cause, much less to any Cœlestial and Divine Protection. Next for Martyrologies, they have *England* for their Field to to triumph in: the Proceedings wherein against their later Priests and Complices, they aggravate to the height of *Neroes* and *Diocleſians* Persecutions, and the Sufferers of their Side, in merits of Cause, in extremity of Torments, and in constancy of Patience, to the renowned Martyrs of that Heroical Church-age. Whereof, besides sundry other Treatises and Pamphlets, they have published a great Volume lately to the World in *Italian*, compiled with great industry, approved by Authority, (yea, some of their Books or Passages illustrated also with Pictures:) in sum, wanting nothing, save only Truth and Sincerity.

An easie thing it is, without growing to the extream impudency of palpable lying, by leaving out the bad on the one side, and the good on the other; by enforcing and flourishing all circumstances and accidents which are

in our favour, and by elevating and disgracing of all the contrary; by sprinkling the terms of Honour wholly on the one part, of hatred and Ignominy on the other; to make the tale turn which way shall please the Teller. But Writers of Histories should know, that there is a difference between their Profession and the practise of Advocates, pleading contrary at a Bar, where the Wisdom of the Judge picketh the truth out of both sides, which is entire perhaps in neither. And verily in this kind both the Protestants and Papists seem generally in the greatest part of their Stories, both too blame, though both not equally, having by their passionate Reports, much wronged the Truth, abused this present Age, and prejudiced Posterity; insomuch that the only remedy now seeming to remain, is to read indifferently the Stories on both parts, to count them as Advocates, and to play the Judge between them. But partiality seems to have been the chief fault of the Protestant, love and dislike sometime dazeling his Eyes, and drawing him from an Historiographers, into an Orators Profession; though some of them have carried themselves therein with commendable sincerity; even as some also of the other part have discharged themselves nobly. But surely the Priests and Friers which have medled in that kind, have strangely behaved themselves, and discloſed how small reckoning they make of truth in any

any thing; their deviſing, their forging, their facing, their peecing, their adding, their parting, have brought not only their Modeſty, but their Wits alſo in queſtion, whether they forgot not what it was which they undertook to write; a work of Story, or of Poetry rather: which Arts, though like, yet ought they to know are different.

And for theſe Martyrologies, to ſpeak of *England* as they do, (let the truth of Religion lie indifferent on whether ſide;) unleſs difference be made between men who ſuffer for their Conſcience only, their very Adverſaries having no other Crime to object againſt them, and thoſe, who either in their own particular perſons, or at leaſtwiſe in their Directors, whom they have choſen to follow, and vowed to obey; are convinced to have attempted againſt the Prince and State, and to have practiſed the alteration and ruine of both; if no difference be to be made between thoſe mens ſufferings; let all be like, let the perſecuting of Sheep, and hunting of Wolves be one. But enough, and too much perhaps of theſe Compariſons and Imitations.

Of the Policy of Papal News.

I will add only hereto their Policy of News, for ſome kind of reſemblance it hath with the former. I muſt confeſs it could not ſettle in my conceit of a long time, that men of their

wiſdom, ſo well furniſhed with better means, ſhould deſcend to that baſe and vain device of inventing and ſpreading of falſe News in their favour; being an odious kind of abuſing the World, and ſuch alſo as in the end coming to be checked with the truth, redounds to the deep diſgrace and diſcredit of the Authors; being accounted no other than the trick of a Bankrupt.

Howbeit, finding by experience that this frequent among them in other places, at *Rome* above all other was a moſt ordinary practice; from whence, during the time of my abode in *Italy*, beſides other leſs memorable, there came firſt ſolemn News, that the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, with all the Greek Church of *Africa*, had by their Ambaſſadors ſubmitted and reconciled themſelves to the Pope, and received from his Holineſs Abſolution and Benediction; there being no ſuch matter as I learned afterward of a Greek Biſhop, who hath particular acquaintance and intelligence with that Patriarch: Another time, that the King of *Scots*, amongſt many acts worthy of a Chriſtian Prince, had chaſed away the Miniſters; yea, and executed two of them, confiſcating their Goods, and beſtowing them upon the Catholicks: which news was ſoon after recalled from the ſame place. Not long after, that *Beza* the Arch-heretick, *Calvins* Succeſſor, drawing towards his Death, had in full Senate at *Geneva*, recanted his Religion, exhorting

exhorting them, if they had care to ſave their Souls, to ſeek reconciliation with the Catholick-Church, and to ſend for the Jeſuits to inſtruct them, whereupon both himſelf, by ſpecial Order from the Pope, was abſolved by the Biſhop of *Geneva*, ere he dyed, and the City had ſent to *Rome* an Ambaſſage of ſubmiſſion: a beginning of which News it was my chance to hear, (as being whiſpered among the Jeſuits) two months ere it break out; but when it was once advertiſed ſo ſolemnly from *Rome*, it ran over all Chriſtendom, and in *Italy* was ſo verily believed to be true, that there were, as is ſaid, who rode on very purpoſe to ſee thoſe Ambaſſadors of *Geneva*, yet inviſible: and to make up the full meaſure of that noble Policy, I being afterwards at *Lyons*, and underſtanding that the Poſt of *Rome* there then paſſing for *Spain*, gave confidently out, that he left the Queen of *Englands* Ambaſſadours at *Rome*, making great inſtance for agreement and amity with his Holineſs, and to have her Re-catholized and abſolved; (News, as to me then ſeemed, cut out purpoſely for *Spain*, and to conſolate their Favourers and afflicted Adherents:) Finding alſo by the obſervation and judgment of ſome wiſe men, that the Jeſuits are Maſters of that worthy Mint, and that all theſe Chymical Coins are of their ſtamp: yea, and that their glorious News of the miraculous proceedings of the Fathers of their Society, in converting

the *Indies* are not thought much truer: And laſtly, perceiving that the Doctrine of all that ſide in their caſes of Conſcience, making it lawful for them to equivocate with their Adverſaries in their Anſwers, though given upon their Oaths, whenſoever their Lives or Liberties are touched; yet the Jeſuits are noted by ſome of their own Friends, to be too hardy Equivocators, and their Equivocations too hard: (whereof they give example) of a Jeſuit who inſtructed a Maid-Servant in *England*; that if ſhe were examined whether ſhe knew of any Prieſt reſorting to her Maſters Houſe, ſhe ſhould ſwear, if ſhe were put to it, that ſhe knew not of any; which ſhe might do lawfully with this ſecret intent, that ſhe knew not of any, *viz.* with purpoſe to diſcloſe them, though other defend this as a point of allowable Wiſdom.

All theſe things conſidered, it hath made me to mitigate my former Imagination, and to deem it not unpoſſible, that this over-politick and too wiſe Order may reach a note higher than our groſs Conceits, who think Honeſty the beſt Policy, and truth the only durable armour of proof; and may find by their refined Obſervations of Experience, that news make their impreſſion upon their firſt reporting, and that then if they be good, they greatly raiſe up the ſpirits, and confirm the minds, eſpecially of the Vulgar, who eaſily believe all that their Betters tell them; that after-

afterward, when they happen to be controulled, mens ſpirits being cold, are not ſo ſenſible as before, and either little regard it, or impute it to common errour and uncertainty of things; yea, and that the good news cometh to many mens ears, who never hear of the check it hath. And at leaſtwiſe it may ſerve their turn for ſome preſent exploit, as Merchants do by their News, (whether imitators or imitated of theſe men, I know not) who finding ſome difficulty in accommodating their Affairs, have in uſe to forge Letters, or otherwiſe to raiſe bruits, either of ſome proſperous ſucceſs in their Princes actions (as our men, they ſay, at *Conſtantinople*) or of ſome great alteration in ſome kind of Merchandize (as certain not long ſince ſome have done at *Paris*) which may ſerve for that preſent inſtant to expedite their buſineſs.

Yet ſurely methinks theſe learned Fathers ſhould conſider, that though Lying be held for a neceſſary fault in Merchants (if any fault be neceſſary, which for my part, I hold not) yet can it not be admitted an allowable Policy for Divines, being the Off-ſpring of that Arch-enemy of the Deity and Divinity. And if, as a dead Flie doth vitiate a whole Box of ſweet Ointment; ſo a little Folly may blemiſh greatly a very wiſe man, and ſome falſhood diſcredit withal the delivery of much truth: then verily will I be bold to crave leave at their hands, if admiring them

in the reſt of their ſuper-ſubtil Inventions, I arrange this among the poor Policies of the Hoſpital of the Deſperati.

Of their utter Breach.

Now theſe being the Weapons wherewith they fight againſt their Adverſaries, they whet them by framing an Utter Breach or ſeparation in all Religious Duties between their Party and their Oppoſites, not only in ſuch points as wherein they diſſent (which is the part of all men that liſt not to wound their own Conſciences) neither yet of all Eccleſiaſtical duties alone; which ſundry other Churches, ancient and modern, have done, and ſtill do, as thinking that the good things which Hereticks retain, are vitiated by thoſe bad, wherewith either their Faiths or Functions are ſtained, (though perhaps there be a dram more of Zeal than Charity in the Ingredients of that Canon, unleſs the Hereſie be capital, and directly oppoſite to the Glory of God, or Honour of our Saviour) but the Church of *Rome* at this day in their more uſual practice, hath ſo ſtrained that ſtring, as to ſtretch it out even to all Divine Duties whatſoever, though not Eccleſiaſtical, but performed by private Perſons, and in ſeveral, as occaſion ſerves, neither to ſuch only as the Faith hath revealed unto us Chriſtians; but even thoſe which the light of Nature hath taught

taught all men in the World, yea, Pagans and Barbarians, as yielding Glory to God, imploring his aid and favour, rendring him thanks for his benefits; in none of which actions do they willingly joyn with the Proteſtants; being ſo, though not publickly and univerſally commanded by the Soveraign Lord and Law of their Church, yet counſelled (as the effect doth ſhew) in private by their particular Inſtructers, Directors and Confeſſors. If a Proteſtant begin to ſettle himſelf to pray with that Prayer which the Lips of our Saviour have ſanctified and taught, it is now ſo polluted by paſſing through his Lips, that a Roman Catholick will hardly ſtay in the Room. If he uſe that voice which all the Creatures of God in their ſeveral Languages do daily ſound forth, and ſay **God be praiſed**, or **Glory to the higheſt**, the *Romaniſt* alone is ſilent, and will not joyn his aſſent. If at meat he yield thanks unto God for his Bleſſings, be it but with *Deo gratias*, which was ever in St. *Auguſtines* mouth; though this chaſe not the Catholick away from his Dinner (which were to his loſs) neither make they it ſimply unlawful to add his **Amen**; yet commonly and more willingly he doth forbear it, where he may ſecurely do ſo without farther offence.

On the contrary ſide, a *Roman* Catholick will not eaſily ſay Grace, though it be at his own Table, when a Proteſtant is preſent; thinking

thinking better to leave God unſerved, then that a Proteſtant joyn in ſerving him. Though the cuſtom of giving God thanks at Meals is generally among thoſe Catholicks grown clean out of uſe, both in *France* and *Italy*, for ought I could ſee; as not knowing that a Popes Pardon is gained by the uſe of Grace Cups.

In ſum, they are more averſe to joyn with the Proteſtant in doing Honour to God, than with the very bruit Beaſts; if Beaſts by proper ſpeech could ſound forth Gods praiſe, as the Legends of their Saints in their favour do fancy. Wherein how Religiouſly they have proceeded for the amplifying and advancing of Gods Service, that God doth know: how charitably towards their Neighbours, that themſelves do know: how politickly for the ſtrengthening of their own Party among their Enemies, that the World may know by theſe few conſiderations.

Firſt, by this courſe, they keep their Lay Followers in a perpetual dark ignorance of the Proteſtants Faith and Religion; having made it an high degree of deadly ſin, either to read their Books, or to hear their Sermons, or to be preſent at their Service, or almoſt any way to communicate with them in Religious Duties whatſoever. Whereby, whatſoever their Lay-multitude conceiveth of the Reformed Religion, or of the Points of Doctrine which therein are taught, is that only

which

which the Enemies thereof do tell them: who report it according to the diſtaſte of their own Stomacks, and as may repreſent it in moſt odious and hideous form to the Hearers: ſo that now no more marvail (which experience doth teach) that ſeldom or never a Lay-Roman-Catholick can be found that conceiveth rightly of any almoſt of the Proteſtants Poſitions: ſith ſeldom or never was Roman Prieſt yet to be ſhewn, that hath not falſified and depraved them utterly in reporting them. Whereas, if thoſe Lay-Catholicks ſhould once open their ears to know the Proteſtants Opinions from themſelves that hold them, which was the uſe of the old World in their ingenuous ſimplicity and ſingleneſs of proceeding: they would not be found either ſo abſurd perhaps, but that a reaſonable, or ſo wicked, but that a Religious mind might embrace them.

Then ſecondly, by this means they do knit their own Faction more faſt together, and unite them more firmly to the Head thereof, the Pope; ſith no ſervice of God, but in his Communion, and with him no conjunction without utter ſeparation and eſtranging from his Enemies. Whereas, if his Party ſhould but joyn with the Proteſtants in ſuch Services of God as are allowed by both; this concurring with them in ſome actions, might abate that utter diſlike which they have now of their whole way: yea, and haply taking a liking

liking of them in ſome things, they might be drawn ſtill on by degrees to other; and ſo finally ſlip away, or grow cold in their firſt Affections. For Factions, as by diſparity of minds they are raiſed, ſo by ſtrangeneſs they are continued and grow immortal: whereas contrariwiſe, they are aſlaked and made calm by entercourſe, by parly they are reconciled, by familiarity they are extinguiſhed. A memorable example of the virtue of this policy, our own Countrey in theſe latter times hath yielded: where in the firſt Reformation under King *Edward*, the Prelates and Clergy, having before, under King *Henry* diſcarded the Pope, did eaſily joyn with the Proteſtants, though not in their Opinions, yet in the publick Service of God in the Churches, being indifferently compoſed and offenſive to neither part. And but that the Pope ſoon after upon extraordinary cauſe was reſtored to his former Authority by Queen *Mary*; that Faction had in likelihood been long ſince ended. But after that the Pope was once again admitted, and had liberty to temper with his Party at pleaſure, in the ſecond Reformation, by her Majeſty, not a Biſhop of his could be perſwaded to come to our Churches, but chuſing rather loſs of Living, and the greateſt part alſo Impriſonment, they laid thereby the foundation of that Faction of Recuſants, which hath ſince been continued by their Followers unto this day, notwithſtanding our Ser-

Service be leſs offenſive to them than in King *Edwards* time, and in no part oppoſite to any point of their Belief. But ſo hath it ſeemed good to their Politick Governours, by this utter Breach and Alienation to preſerve and perpetuate the Remains of their Party; and that in the midſt of their much more potent Adverſaries, though armed with Laws, quickned with ſuſpitions, yea, and exaſperated by their often dangerous practiſes againſt them. Now in that they proceed alſo yet one ſtep farther, and not only inhibit their Party the reading of Proteſtant Books, and repair to their Churches, but diſcounſel alſo all joyning with them in any Service of God, by whomſoever, and how lawful ſort ſoever performed: thereby do they ingender in them (according to their deſire) an extream hatred and bitter deteſtation of their Oppoſites. For if the Proteſtants by reaſon of their enmity with the Pope, and ſwerving from his way, do ſtand in terms of ſo deep diſfavour with God, that their Prayer it ſelf doth turn into ſin; that their humble Thanks-givings are abominable Preſumptions; to joyn with them in praiſing the Creator of the World, is no better than diſſervice to his Majeſty; then ſurely wo worth the hour wherein they were born, and bleſſed be that hand which ſhall work their bane and ruine, then no ſtay or doubt but what the Pope directeth, that boldly to be executed againſt the Enemies of God.

And

And this have they ſet up as a Crown and accompliſhment to the reſt of their Practices, againſt their Adverſaries. For now is their Faction not only kept on foot, and continually maintained without decay, but inflamed alſo with ſuch hatred of their Enemies, that they are ready to any violence that opportunity can adviſe.

For as diverſities of Judgments doth grow into Diſlikes, and Diſlikes by oppoſition do iſſue into Factions; ſo Hatred in Factions doth break out into Seditions, and attendeth only advantage to uſe force againſt thoſe they hate. Whereas on the contrary ſide, the Proteſtant being not armed nor quickned up with ſuch ſtings of hatred as his Adverſaries, is more cold and careleſs in his oppoſite deſires, and exceedingly inferiour in all ſtrong attemps and practices. But certainly, howſoever in this crafty kind of Policies, which hath too much bewitched the Wits of this Age; and doth too much tyrannize over that ancient true Wiſdom wherewith the World in fore-times was more happily governed; theſe courſes may ſeem very fine and effectual for the atchieving of that end whereto they are framed: yet I ſuppoſe it would prove very hard to be ſhewn, how they can ſtand with the Principles and Rules of that Religion, whoſe Root is Truth; whoſe Branches are Charity, whoſe Fruits are good Deeds, extending, and even offering themſelves

ſelves with chearfulneſs unto all men, to the encouraging of Friends, and reclaiming of Enemies, to the mending of the worſe, and accompliſhing of the better. For if a magnanimous and noble mind in the high vertuouſneſs thereof do carry it ſelf in all actions with ſuch moderation and meaſure, as that it neither hate his Enemy ſo much in regard of his wickedneſs, but that it love whatſoever in him hath reſemblance of virtue; neither yet fear him ſo much for his miſchievous deſires, as to rage and grow fierce upon him in his weakneſs; but contenteth it ſelf ſo far forth only to repreſs him, as may diſable him thenceforward from doing hurt unto others: how much more may it ſeem reaſonoble, that the Heavenly affection of a Chriſtian rejoyce for whatſoever goodneſs appears in any man, as finding there ſome lineaments of his Creators Image, deteſt nothing but Impiety and Wickedneſs, the Worlds diſhonour; and laſtly, in the true and ſerious worſhiping of God, do joyn, when occaſion offers, with whatſoever of his Creatures, with united affections to chear up his Service, where ſcandal by ſhew of approving that which is evil in them doth not hinder? But this World in the baſeneſs of his mettal, now the laſt and worſt, and in the weakneſs of his old and decaied years, laying the ground of all his Policy in fear and jealouſie, iſſuing from a certain Conſciouſneſs

ſciouſneſs of his own worthleſneſs and want of Virtue; holdeth thoſe courſes for the beſt, which work with the greateſt and moſt ſecret advantage againſt ſuch as either are, or in time may become concurrents or Enemies, letting paſs with ſome terms of formal commendation, thoſe ancient more noble ways, which being derived from the high Governour of both the Worlds, and having their ground on the unmoveable principles of true wiſdom and virtue, muſt needs be of greater force, both for the upholding of thoſe that hold them, and for the effecting of all their worthy and honourable deſires, were there a firm mind to purſue them, and a ſtrong arm to wield them; both which to this weak World are wanting. But of theſe matters ſufficient.

Of their Excluding of all Acceſs of the Religion; and of their Inquiſition.

It is now time that I come to the view of thoſe means which are uſed by the Papacy for the **Excluding of all Acceſs** and Sound **of the Religion** in thoſe places where their power remaineth yet unabridged. Wherein, as in other like caſes before, I will lightly paſs over that which is apparent to all eyes: and that is, what ſervice their **Inquiſition** doth therein, being in truth the principal

principal and moſt forcible Engine in accompliſhing that work; and ſuch, as whereſoever it, and the Council of *Trent* can be throughly planted and eſtabliſhed, as in *Spain* and all *Italy* now, ſave only ſome part perhaps of the Kingdom of *Naples*, where the Tyranny of *Spain* may be Inquiſition ſufficient, (as the Inquiſition of *Spain* is alſo of the two the crueller) doth rid them of fear, and their Adverſaries of hope of letting in the Reformation; unleſs perhaps in ſome univerſal deluge of War, when the execution of Laws, and ſuch ſearches ſhall be forced to ceaſe. For this Inquiſition, as a Soveraign preſervative, and defective of no Virtue, ſave Juſtice and Mercy, being committed lightly to the moſt zealous, induſtrious and Religious Friers that can be found in all places, who leave no one Rule thereof unpractiſed; taking hold of men for the leaſt ſuſpition of Hereſie, or of Affinity or Connivence with Hereſie that may be, as the bare reproving ſometimes the Lives of their Clergy, or the having of any Book or Edition prohibited (though yet with ſome regard of the nature and quality of perſons, ſeeing many a man makes thoſe Actions ſuſpicious, which otherwiſe would not make the man) diſcovering men by the preſſing of all mens Conſciences, whom they charge under an high degree of mortal ſin and

damnation (being a caſe reſerved, and wherein not any under an Arch-Biſhop or Biſhop can abſolve them, as I have ſeen in their printed Inſtructions at Siena) to appeach even their neareſt and deareſt Friends, if they know, or but ſuſpect them to be culpable therein; proceeding againſt the detected with ſuch ſecrecy and ſeverity, as that firſt they ſhall never have notice of their accuſers, but ſhall be urged to reveal their very thoughts and affections: Secondly, if by long enquiry they be taken tardy in any one thing delivered in their examinations, or can be convicted thereof by any two Witneſſes of how baſe or indifferent quality ſoever, without further reply they are caſt and gone; thirdly, if nothing fall out to be proved againſt them, yet will they hold them in their Holy Houſe divers years ſometimes in great anguiſh and miſery, for a terrour to other, and for their exacter trial; and laſtly, beſides all their Tortures and ſcorns, if one be touched the ſecond time, nothing but Death without remiſſion: this being the diligence, this the violence of their Inquiſition, it doth ſo ſweep all quarters and corners where it walketh, that as a ſheering wind it kills all in the bud, no wit nor Proviſion being poſſible to avoid it. Yea, it is ſuch a bridle to the very freedom of mind and liberty of ſpeech, which they of their own way would otherwiſe

wiſe uſe; and is converted in ſome places to ſuch an inſtrument no leſs of Civil than Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny: that as *Naples* and *Millain* did a while vehemently withſtand it, and *Spain* would with the deareſt things they have redeem it; ſo moſt of their moſt zealous Catholicks elſewhere, which would die perhaps, if need ſo were, for their Religion, yet abhor the very name and mention of the Inquiſition, as being the greateſt ſlavery that ever yet the world hath taſted. And the *Venetians* themſelves could never yet be brought to admit it in other ſort, than with certain very favourable exceptions for ſtrangers (who are generally alſo in *Italy* little ſearched into for their Conſciences, by reaſon of the gain which comes by their repair, but may paſs well enough if they give no ſcandal) and with retaining the ſoveraign ſway thereof in their own hands at all times.

But to let this wreck of mens ſouls thus reſt, as an invention fitter for the Religion of *Antiochus* and *Domitian*, or for *Mahomets Alcoran*, than for the clemency of his Goſpel who was Prince of mildneſs and mercy: It is a wonderful thing to ſee what curious order and diligence they uſe, to ſuffer nothing to be done or ſpring up among themſelves, which may any way give footing to the Religion which they ſo much hate.

Of their Locking up the Scriptures.

And first for the **Scriptures**; forasmuch as the Reformation seems grounded upon them, the Reformers having striven to square it out wholly, and only by that rule, as far forth as their Understanding and Wits could wade; and forasmuch as it is a thing which the *Romanists* deny not, that a great part of their Religion hath other foundation, and would seem in many points to swerve much, yea, and plainly to cross the Scriptures, as an ordinary Reader by his meer natural wit, not fashioned by their distinctions, nor directed by their Glosses, would expound it: for this cause, though heretofore to stop their Adversaries mouths, always yolping and crying with hateful sounds, that they would not let the poor People hear their Creator speak to them, that they starved and murdered their Souls in ignorance, robbing them of the Bread of Life, the voice of Christ, and cramming and cheaking them with their empty Superstitions, their poysoned Idolatry; that the Scriptures would shew them that their worshiping of blind Images was a thing detested, and even with threats prohibited in the Law of God; their praying in unknown Language and by Tale, plainly reproved; their invocating and vowing to Saints

Saints, a matter there never heard of; that their Ceremonies were Vanities, their traffick for Souls very Sacriledge, their Miracles Deluſions, their Indulgences Blaſphemies; that it would diſcover their Church to be a body ſtrangely infected and polluted with all foul and peſtilent Diſeaſes; and finally, that their not erring and not controulable Lord of Rome was no other than that imperious bewitching Lady of Babylon: though I ſay, as well to beat back theſe irkſome Out-cries of their Adverſaries, as alſo to give ſome content and ſatisfaction to their own, that they might not think them ſo terribly afraid of the Bible, they were content to let it be tranſlated by ſome of their Favourers into the Vulgar, as alſo ſome number of Copies to be ſaleable a while at the beginning; yet ſince having huſhed that former clamour, and made better proviſion for the eſtabliſhing of their Kingdom, they have called all vulgar Bibles ſtreightly in again (yet the very Pſalms of *David* which their famous Preacher, Biſhop *Panigarola* tranſlated) as doubting elſe the unavoidableneſs of thoſe former inconveniences.

To let paſs thoſe hard conceits which they breed in the Multitude, as touching the inextricable obſcurity of the Scripture, the eaſineſs to miſtake it, the dangerouſneſs to err by it: having raiſed in ſome

places ſuch baſe and Blaſphemous Proverbs concerning it, as for my part, I had rather themſelves would extinguiſh them, than that I liſt to give them life by recording them in this place. Neither yet in their very Sermons, though they preach always in a manner on the Goſpel of the Day, do they read or any other ways recite the Text; but diſcourſe only on ſuch points of it as they think fitteſt, without more ſolemnity; that no ſound of Scripture may poſſeſs the People: although the uſe of *France* be otherwiſe for that matter: yea, ſome parts of Scripture, as St. *Pauls* Epiſtles, they are ſo jealous of, and think ſo dangerous, that by report of divers, (for my ſelf did not hear it) ſome of their Jeſuits of late in *Italy*, in ſolemn Sermon, and other their Favourites elſewhere in private Communication, commending between them St. *Peter* for a worthy Spirit, have cenſured St. *Paul* for a hot-headed Perſon, who was tranſported ſo with his Pangs of Zeal and Eagerneſs beyond all compaſs in ſundry his Diſputes, that there was no great reckoning to be made of his Aſſertions; yea, he was dangerous to read, as favouring of Hereſie in ſome places, and better he had not written of thoſe matters at all. Agreeable to which I have heard other of their Catholicks deliver, that it hath been heretofore very ſeriouſly

riously consulted among them, to have censured by some means and reformed the Writings of St. *Paul*: though for my own part, I must profess I can hardly believe this, as being an attempt too too abominable and blasphemous, and for these times also too desperate a Scandal. But howsoever, he of all other is least beholden to them: whom of mine own knowledge and hearing, some of them teach in Pulpits, not to have been secure of his preaching but by conference with St. *Peter*, and other of the Apostles; nor that he durst publish his Epistles till they had allowed them. These Orders have they taken to avoid danger from the written word: advancing instead thereof the amplitude, the sufficiency, and the unfallible certainty of Gods Oracles and Word not written, but delivered to the Custody of his Holy Church by speech only: which Church hath now fully also delivered her mind in the late Council of *Trent*; whereto all that are solemnly doctored in *Italy* must subscribe.

Of their concealing the Doctrines and Opinions of the Reformation.

And as in the foundation of the Reformation which is the Scripture, so much more in the Edifice it self the Doctrine

and Opinions, they beat away all Sound and Eccho of them: being not lawful there to alledge them, no not to glance at them; not to argue and diſpute of them, no not to refute them. In ordinary Communication to talk of matter of Religion, is odious and ſuſpicious: but to enter into any reaſoning, though but for Argument ſake, without other ſcandal, is prohibited and dangerous. Yea, it was once my fortune to be half threatned for no other fault than for debating with a Jew, and upholding the truth of Chriſtianity againſt him: ſo unlawful are all Diſputes of Religion whatſoever. And their Friers, even in *France*, in their endeavours to convert others, will ſay it is lawful to perſwade them, but not ſo to diſpute of them. But in *Italy* this is much more exactly obſerved: where in their Divinity Diſputations in their Univerſities or Colledges, (as ſome ſuch Diſputations they have, but very ſleight and unfrequent;) I could not perceive that they ever debated any queſtion at this day controverſed, otherwiſe than (as ever) among themſelves and between their Schoolmen. And which was more ſtrange to me till I ſounded the Reaſon, in no place of *Italy* where ever I came, could I hear any of their Preachers treat of any Point in queſtion between them and the Proteſtants, ſave only at *Padua*; where, in reſpect

ſpect there are always divers hundreds of Strangers of the adverſe Party, it is otherwiſe practiſed, and I ween adviſed.

But in all other places, for ought I could perceive, either they mention now no Adverſaries; or if they do, which is very ſeldom, yet do they not unfold their Opinions and Arguments, but either frame other Chimæra's of their own in ſtead of them, and ſo flouriſh a bout or two in canvaſſing their own ſhadows, as is uſual in *France* alſo; or elſe diſpatch them away with certain general Reproaches, and then (as I have heard ſome of them) will formally conclude; but what do I name Hereticks in an Aſſembly of Catholicks? Howbeit they are not ſo forgetful and careleſs of their good croſs Neighbours, as this Courſe might ſeem at the firſt bluſh to import: but thoſe Offices they do, they do them to the beſt purpoſe; teaching the People ſometime in Pulpit, but much more in private Conferences, and in their Confeſſions, that the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* are Blaſphemers of God and all his Saints, and above all other, that they deſpiſe and vilifie our Lady, ſaying plainly, ſhe was no better than one of their own Wives; that they aboliſh the Church-Sacraments, the only means of Salvation; that where-ever they come, they either raze or rob Churches, and make Stables of them; that there

there is no kind of Villany, which is not currant among them; that in England, they have neither Churches nor form of Religion, nor ſerve God any way; that the *Engliſh* Nation, ſince their falling away from the Church, is grown ſo barbarous, that their Souldiers are very Cannibals, and eat young Children. But that above all other places, Geneva is a very profeſſed Sanctuary of Roguery, giving harbour to all the Runagates, Traitors, Rebels, and wicked perſons of all other Countries. By which Speech, very generally in *Italy* ſpread and believed, ſome memorable accidents have at ſome times hapned. Sundry of their prigging and looſe Friers, hearing of *Geneva* to be ſuch an Holy Place of Good-fellowſhip, and thinking the lewder Pranks they play'd with their own ere they came thither to find the better welcome at their coming; have robbed their Convents of their Church Plate and Repoſitories, and brought away the Booty in triumph to *Geneva*, under the changeable colours of Reformed Religion: where their advancement hath been ſtraight to the Gibbet for their labour: a Reward much unexpected, and ſuch as cauſed them to complain pitifully of their wrong Information; for ſuch is the extraordinary ſeverity of that City, as to puniſh Crimes committed without their State, with no whit

whit leſs rigour than as if they had been done within it. And not many years ſince it was the Lot of a *Spaniſh* Gallant who ſtood upon his State, and carried a Mint about him, to repair thither, to have Stamps made him for the coyning of Piſtolets. His defence was, that he underſtood their City was free. And gave receipt to all Offenders. It was told him that it was true, that they received all Offenders; but withall, when they were come, they puniſhed their Offences. A diſtinction which the good Gentleman had never before ſtudied; and the learning of it then coſt him no leſs than his Headpiece.

And as by theſe kind of Slanders, ſo alſo the more to harden mens minds againſt them, they will tell of ſtrange Miracles that have befallen them. A Point wherewith the Pulpits of *France* alſo do ring daily: where in the Siege of *Paris*, they were grown to that audaciouſneſs, as to perſwade the People there, who generally believed it, that the Thunder of the Popes Excommunications had ſo blaſted the Hereticks, that their faces were grown black and ugly as Devils, their Eyes and Looks ghaſtly, their Breaths noiſom and peſtilent. Much like to one of the *Servi di Madonna* at *Bolonia*, whom I heard in Pulpit among a multitude of modern Miracles, which

which had fallen out to their Puniſhment who were excommunicated, (the continuing wherein a year, without ſeeking Abſolution, incur ſuſpicion of Hereſie;) tell this alſo of an Heretical Gentleman of *Polonia:* Who talking at a ſolemn Dinner againſt the Pope, the Bread on his Trencher grew black as Ink, and upon his repentance and Converſion, returned to its former whiteneſs. A thing hapned but lately, and reported by the *Poloniſh* Ambaſſadour to a Cardinal, by the Cardinal to a Biſhop, by the Biſhop to this Frier: An Imitation perhaps of that renowned Miracle of eating Tables for hunger, threatned by that winged Propheteſs, with like deduction of credit.

Quæ Phœbo Pater Omnipotens, mihi Phœbus Apollo
Prædixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.

And theſe things are inſtead of refuting the Proteſtants Religion: which are not in vain.

For the vulgar ſort, who believe, as they ſay, in God and the Pope, think all to be Goſpel that their Friers tell them. And I have heard ſome conjecture at others to be *Lutherans*, only by reaſon they were ſo monſtrous Blaſphemers as they were. But all are not of that ſtamp: thoſe Gentlemen, and other who have travelled abroad; and

and thoſe alſo at home, that are not paſſionately blind, but diſcreet and inquiſitive of the truth of all things; howſoever diſſenting from them, yet have no ſuch hard conceit of the Proteſtants Opinions or Actions. But the moſt ſtrange thing as to me it ſeemed of all other, is, that thoſe principal Writers, who have employed themſelves wholly in refuting from point to point, the Proteſtants Doctrine and Arguments, are ſo rare in *Italy*, as by ordinary enquiry, I believe not to be found.

The Controverſies of Cardinal *Bellarmine* I ſought for in *Venice*, in all places. Neither that, nor *Gregory* of *Valenza*, nor any of ſuch quality could I ever in any Shop of *Italy*, ſet an eye on: but inſtead of them, an infinite of meer Invectives, and Declamations. Which made me entertain this ſuſpicious Conjecture, that it might be their care, that no part of the Proteſtants Poſitions and Allegations, ſhould be known they were ſo exact, as to make diſcurrent in ſome ſort, even thoſe very Books, which were conſtrained to recite them, that they might refute them, in ſuch wiſe, as not to ſuffer them to be commonly ſaleable, but only to ſuch, or in ſuch places, as the Superiours ſhould think meet. But the truth of this Conjecture, I leave to farther enquiry.

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The Concluſion is this: No ſound of the Reformed Religion, either ſtirring in *Italy*, or by any humane wit now poſſible to be raiſed. For, to bring in from forreign places any Heretical Writing, though it were without malice, were two years ſtreight Impriſonment, as they ſay, if he ſo eſcaped. So far are they from their Adverſaries, either Simplicity, if their Cauſe be bad; or Honeſty, if good: who not only in moſt of their Replies print both together, to give means of indifferency in judging to the Reader; but even permit their Adverſaries yet unanſwered Diſputes to run currant among them, ſo they be in the Latine, and not purpoſely written, as ſome are, to miſdraw the Multitude. It remaineth now to reſtrain the *Italians* from going abroad to forraign Countries, where thoſe contagious ſounds and ſights might infect them. Herein the nature of the *Italian* doth ſupply: who wonders at us *Engliſh-men* that come travelling ſo far thither, himſelf having no humour to ſtir one foot abroad; and indeed little needing, conſidering how all Nations of Chriſtendom do flock to him. But not ſo for Merchants, theſe fly abroad in exceeding abundance to all places, and in Wealth, where-ever they come, overtop all other; ſuch is their Skill, their Wit, their Induſtry, their Parſimony. Behold then this Popes late Exploit alſo for that point. He hath by his printed Bull, under pain of

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Excommunication, forbidden them all repair for Traffick to Heretical Countries: Whereupon ſome, as I hear, are retired from *England*, and other in other places, are ſaid to have importuned and obtained ſome Out-Chappel to have their Maſs in. Thus hath every Gap his Buſh, each ſuſpition his prevention.

One thing only remaineth as Garland to all the reſt. It were an hard State and a Tyrannical, where the Superiours ſhould aſſume to themſelves all Licenſe of doing, and not permit to the Inferiors at leaſt-wiſe liberty of ſpeaking: which is but a ſlender revenge for ſo great a wrong as ill Government; yet ſuch as by giving vent to the boyling fumes of hatred, doth evaporate and aſſake that heat, which otherwiſe would flame out into Fury and Miſchief. For which cauſe, the wiſeſt men have been always beſt pleaſed, that loſers ſhould have their Words: and they who have endeavoured to bridle mens Tongues by ſharp Laws, whom they rather ſhould have charmed, and held in tune by their own Integrity, have learned that things violent are ſeldom permanent, and that the enjoyning of too much Patience makes men break into Madneſs. Yea, I have heard men of great experience and judgment ſay, that the beſt way to reconcile the Country Enmities, is to let the good men chide a while heartily together; and their Stomacks being once

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diſgorged, a peaceable motion will find good audience: ſo neceſſary are theſe Evaporations to the minds of the Multitude, which may ſerve for ſome juſtification of the Wiſdom of the Papacy in thoſe former free times, when they did, and other ſaid, what each humour adviſed. But little was it then feared, which ſince hath followed. Little was it imagined, that the time ſhould come, when the World awakened by the Cries of a Frier, ſhould look about ſo broadly, and ſearch ſo narrowly all the Plaits and hidden Corners of the Papacy, what their Doctrine had been, what their Lives, what their Scopes, and what their Practiſes. Not ſo many of the conſecrated Divine Patrons of the *Roman* State, with thouſands of Prayers and Vows daily adored; nor ſo many of their enſhrined and Miracle-working Images, to whom ſuch ſtore of Lamps, and pure Candles, were daily burning; ſo much Incenſe perfumed, ſo long and toylſome Pilgrimages performed, ſuch abundance of Gifts and glad Offerings preſented; on whom, laſtly, ſo many, ſo devout, ſo humble, both bowed Knees, and hanging down Heads, and beaten Breaſts, and lift up Eyes attended; did ever fore-tell ſo notable a Calamity.

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It was not then thought, that there would arise a Generation, who would alledge in good earnest that divers hundreds of Years since, as also more freshly, sundry of their own Authors and Followers had, in bitter Detestation of their own monstrous Abominations, described out the Pope for the Antichrist fore-prophesied; called Rome, the very Babylon and Temple of Heresies, the Corrupter of the World, the Gate of Heaven; and in effect, the High-way, and very Gate of Hell: That the Lives of their Prelates, Priests, Friars and Nuns, not for some particular Offences, which will always befal, but for their ordinary Tenour and Courses of Conversation, had been so reported by Men of their own Religion, that an honest Adversary cannot read them without Sorrow; nor a Modest, without Shame and Blushing: That the Iniquity of their chief See hath been so exorbitant, as to have raised amidst themselves this Proverb, or Saying, among many other, concerning it, recorded in their own Books; That the worst Christians of Italy are the Romans; of the Romans, the Priests are wickedest; the lewdest Priests are preferred to be Cardinals, and the baddest Man among the Cardinals is chosen to be Pope. Neither was it then fore-seen, that the World entring into those Considerations, would think, that they had Reason which called for a Reformation; and that it was not a fatal Calamity of this Age, but a supernatural Blessing of God from

above, after the kindling of many precurſory Lights of Knowledge, and furniſhing other Inſtruments to do ſervice therein, to direct a meer Accident of Scandal on their part; namely, the undiſcreet Proclaiming and Sale of their Pardons, as the wiſeſt and worthieſt of their own Hiſtoriographers reporteth it, to the provoking of certain Men of more Zeal and Courage, than Policy or Skill, in conducting their Actions; who, without any ſuch premeditated Intent, yea, and drawn into the Liſts, and held in them againſt their Will, by the violent preſſing and inſulting of their Adverſaries; having been forced to ſift throughly the Romiſh Doctrine and Practice, have diſcovered therein thoſe Errors and Abuſes, which it was high time to be purged and ſwept out of the Church: And that the Eſtabliſhing of this Reformation, how unperfect ſoever to be done by ſo weak and ſimple Means; yea, by caſual and croſs Means, againſt the Force of ſo puiſſant and politick an Adverſary, is that Miracle which in theſe Times we are to look for; wherein it pleaſeth God, whoſe Goodneſs all Times do ſpeak out, to renown his high Wiſdom, in guiding this untoward World by ordinary Courſes; as in foretimes his Power, by admiring therein his often extraordinary Wonders. But the Papacy at this Day taught by woful Experience, what Damage this Licence of Writing among themſelves hath done them; and that their Speeches are not only Weapons in the Hands of their Adverſaries,

Adverſaries, but Eye-ſores, and Stumbling-blocks alſo to their remaining Friends; under ſhew of Purging the World from the Infection of all wicked and corrupt Books and Paſſages, which are either againſt Religion, or againſt Honeſty and good Manners: For which two Purpoſes they have their ſeveral Officers, who indeed, do blot out much Impiouſneſs and Filth; and therein will deſerve, both to be commended and imitated, (whereto the *Venetians* add alſo a third, to let nothing paſs that may be juſtly offenſive to Princes;) have in truth, withal, pared and lop'd off whatſoever, in a manner, their watchful Eyes could obſerve, either free in diſcloſing their Abuſes and Corruptions, or ſawcy in conſtruing their Drifts and Practices, or diſhonourable to the Clergy, or undutiful to the Papacy. Theſe Editions only are authorized; all other diſallowed, called in, conſumed; with Threats to whomſoever ſhall preſume to keep them: That no Speech, no Writing, no Evidence of times paſt, no Diſcourſe of things preſent be; in ſum, nothing whatſoever may ſound ought, but Holineſs, Honour, Purity, Integrity to the unſpotted Spouſe of *Chriſt*, and to his unerring Vicar, to the Miſtreſs of Churches, to the Father of Princes. But as it falleth out now and then, that Wiſdom and good Fortune are to the ruin of them that too much follow them, by drawing Men ſometime, upon a Preſumption of their Wit and Cunning in Contrivements, and

of their good ſucceſs withal in one Attempt, to adventure upon another, ſtill of yet more ſubtil Invention, and more dangerous Execution; which doth break in the end with the very fineneſs it ſelf, and overwhelm them with the difficulties: So it is to be thought, that their proſperous Succeſs in pruning and pluming thoſe latter Writers, effected with good Eaſe, and no very great Clamour, as having ſome reaſon, and doing really ſome good, was it that did breed in them an higher Conceit, that it was poſſible to work the like Concluſion in Writers of elder times; yea, in the Fathers themſelves, and in all other Monuments of reverend Antiquity; and the Opinion of Poſſibility redoubling their Deſire, brought forth, in fine, thoſe *Indices expurgatorii*, whereof I ſuppoſe they are now not a little aſhamed, they having by misfortune light into their Adverſaries Hands, from whom they deſired, by all means, to conceal them; where they remain as a Monument, to the Judgment of the World, of their everlaſting Reproach and Ignominy. Theſe purging *Indices* are of divers ſorts; ſome work not above eight hundred Years upward; others venture much higher, even to the Prime of the Church: The Effect is, That for as much as there were ſo many Paſſages in the Fathers, and other ancient Eccleſiaſtical Writers, which their Adverſaries producing in Averment of their Opinions, they were not able, but by Tricks and Shifts of Wit, to reply

ply to. To eaſe themſelves henceforth, in great part, of that Wit-labour; (a Quality, indeed, perhaps more commendable in ſome other Trade, than in Divinity, where Verity ſhould only ſway, where the Love of the Truth ſhould ſubject, or diſtinguiſh wholly all other Paſſions; and the Eye of the Mind, fixed attentively upon that Object, ſhould diſturb from the regarding of other Motives whatſoever:) ſome Aſſemblies of their Divines, with Conſent, no doubt, of their redoubted Superiours and Soveraigns, have delivered expreſs Order, That in the Impreſſions of thoſe Authors, which hereafter ſhould be made, the ſcandalous places there named, ſhould be clean left out: Which perhaps, though in this preſent Age, would have ſmally prevailed to the reclaiming of their Adverſaries; yet would have been great Aſſurance for the retaining their own, to whom no other Books muſt have been granted. Yea, and perhaps Time and Induſtry, which eat even through Marbles, extinguiſhing, or getting into their Hands all former Editions; and for any New to be ſet out by their Adverſaries, there is no great fear; whoſe Books being diſcurrent in all Catholick Countries, their want of Means requiſite to utter an Impreſſion, would diſhearten them from the Charge; the Mouth of Antiquity ſhould be throughly ſhut up from uttering any Syllable, or Sound againſt them. Then laſtly, by adding Words where Opportunity and Pretence

might serve, and by drawing in the Marginal Notes and Glosses of their Friars into the Text of the Fathers, as in some of them they have already very handsomely begun; the Mouth of Antiquity should be also opened for them. There remained then only the rectifying of S. *Paul* (whose turn, in all likelihood, if ever, should be the next) and other places of Scripture; whose Authority being set beneath the Churches already, it were no such great matter to submit it also to her gentle moderate Censures; especially for so good an Intent, as the weeding out of Heresies, and the preserving of the Faith Catholick in her Purity and Glory: But above all other, the second Commandment (as the Protestants, *Grecians* and *Jews* reckon it) were like to abide it; which already, in their vulgar Catechisms, is discarded, as Words superfluous, or at leastwise, as unfit or unnecessary for these Times. And then, without an Angel sent down from Heaven, no Means to control or gain-say them in any thing. But these are but the Dreams, perhaps, of some over-passionate Desires; at leastwise, not likely to take place in our Times. But what is it which the Opinions of the Not-possibility of erring, of the necessary Assistance of God's Spirit in their Consistories, of Authority unlimited, of Power both to dispence with God's Law in this World, and to alter his Arrests and Judgments in the other, (for thereunto do their Pardons to them in Purgatory extend:) What is it, which these so high, and so

ſo fertile Opinions are not able to engender, and do not powerfully enforce to execute? Carrying Men away head-long with this raging Conceit, that whatſoever they do by the Pope's, they do by God's own Commandment, whoſe Lieutenant he is on Earth, by a Commiſſion of his own penning; that is to ſay, with abſolute and unreſtrained Juriſdiction; that whatſoever they do for Advancement of his See and Sceptre, they do it for the upholding of the Church of *Chriſt*, and for the Salvation of Men's Souls, which, out of his Obedience, do undoubtedly periſh. And verily it ſeems no cauſeleſs Doubt of Fear, that theſe Humours and Faces, ſo forward, ſo adventurous, to alter and chaſtiſe with palpable Partiality, the Works of former Times, in an Age which hath ſo many jealous Eyes on their Fingers, ſo many Mouths open to publiſh their Shame, ſuch ſtore of Copies to reſtore and repair whatſoever they ſhould preſume to maim or deprave: That in former Ages, when there were few Copies, ſmall Difficulties, no Enemies; as it is found by certain and irrefragable Arguments, that many Baſtard-writings were forged in their favour, and fathered on honeſt Men who never begat them; ſo alſo they might, beſide other their choppings and changings, puttings in, and puttings out, ſuppreſs many good and ancient Evidences, which they perceived, were not greatly for their purpoſe to be extant. But of all other, in reforming and purifying of Authors, the Care and

Diligence of this Pope doth far exceed; who, not content with that which hath been done in that kind before him, nor thinking things yet ſo bright as they ſhould be, cauſeth much to be peruſed, and ſcoured over anew; yea, and it is thought, will caſhier ſome worthy Authors, who as yet, though with Cuts and Gaſhes, hold rank among them. And for a farther Terrour, not to retain Books prohibited, I have ſeen in their printed Inſtructions for Confeſſion, the having or reading Books forbidden, ſet in Rank amongſt the Sins againſt the firſt Commandment. And for farther Proviſion, the Jews (who have generally not any other Trades than Frippery and Uſury, Loan of Money and old Stuff) are inhibited, in many places, the medling any more with Books, for fear leſt through Errour, or Deſire of Lucre, they might do them prejudice. Neither is it lawful in *Italy*, to carry Books about, from one place to another, without Allowance of them from the Inquiſitors, or Search by their Authorities: Wherein, as I confeſs, they have neglected nothing, which the Wit of Man, in this kind, could poſſibly deviſe; ſo yet may it be doubted, that as too much wiping doth, in the end, draw Blood with it, and ſoil more than before, ſo this too rigorous cutting of all Authors Tongues, leaving nothing which may ſavour of any freedom of Spirit, or give any Satisfaction for underſtanding Times paſt, may raiſe ſuch a Longing for the right Authors in the Minds of all Men, as may

encourage

encourage the Proteſtants to re-print them in their firſt Entireneſs, having hope given to vent them, although in ſecret. Theſe have I obſerved for the Complots and Practices of the *Roman* Church and Papacy; not doubting but they may have many more, and much finer than I can dream of: And yet in the ſurveying of theſe altogether, methinks they are ſuch, and ſo eſſential in their Proof, that it cauſeth me, in Generality of good Deſire, to wiſh, that either the Cauſe which they ſtrive to maintain were better, or their Policies whereby they maintain it, were not ſo good.

Of the preſent State of the Papacy, and their peculiar Actions.

Now, to take a brief View of the Preſent State of the Papacy, or rather, of ſome Points therein, more requiſite to be known: Firſt, to conſider it in his own proper and Peculiar Dominions; namely, in the Signiories and Territories which the Pope holds in *Italy*; for as for Avignon, with his Country Venaiſſine in France, by reaſon of the ill Neighbourhood of the Proteſtants of Orange, it hath yielded him, I ween, in theſe latter Times, no great matter; (yea rather, it hath been an Overcharge unto him; for which Cauſe, they like well to be under the Pope, as bringing more in to them, than he taketh from them:) I take it at this Day, of the four great States of *Italy*,

by

by reaſon of the Acceſs to the Dukedom of *Ferrara*, eſcheated to him of late, to be clearly the third at leaſt, and to ſurmount the great Duke's, which it hath well nigh ſurrounded alſo: Yea, Queſtion might be made concerning the ſecond place; for although the *Venetians*, in Amplitude of Territory, far; and in greatneſs of Revenue, not a little exceed it; yet, beſide other Difficulties, and Charges of Neceſſity, to which they are more ſubject, in Military Force, they greatly come ſhort; the Pope's Men retaining ſtill the brave Hearts of their Anceſtors, and breeding among them plenty of able Leaders (whereof, at this preſent, both the great Duke, and the *Venetians*, do ſerve themſelves) whereas the *Lombards*, wherein is the Flower of the State of *Venice*, are as heavy and unwarlike, as their Soil is deep and fat; inſomuch that the *Venetians* are driven to ſeek abroad, and eſpecially to the *Griſons*, from whom they are to have, at all times, ten thouſand at call. But on the contrary ſide, being to be alledged, that the *Venetians* are by Sea puiſſant, where the Pope can do nothing, I ſuppoſe they may ſtill hold the ſecond place of Greatneſs; the firſt, even in *Italy*, without other reſpect, being incomparable due unto the *Spaniſh* Mightineſs; and this in Poſſeſſion. Beſides which, all *Italy* holding partly of the Pope, and partly of the Empire (ſave the Signiory of *Venice*, who acknowledge no Lord) of the Pope, the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with

with their Dependents; the Dukedoms of *Parma*, and *Placentia*, and *Urbin*, beſides other leſs Quillets of theſe. The Dutchy of *Urbin* (no great thing, but full of ſtout Men, and of ſome hundred thouſand Crowns Revenue) is in great poſſibility to devolve to the Church ere long, the Duke being in Years, and without Heirs, though as now unmarried, by his old Wife's Deceaſe of late; but the Jeſuits labour hard, that he ſo remain; perſuading him, that Bigamy is not ſo acceptable an Eſtate to God. There is alſo poſſibility of the eſcheating of *Parma* and *Placentia*, there being but the young Duke (who remaineth ſtill unmarried; being withſtood, as is thought, in his long Love at *Florence*, both by *Spain* of old, and now by the Pope alſo, beſides the great Duke's not haſtineſs to forge his Neeces Portion) and the Cardinal *Farneſe*, his Brother; who in that Caſe, I believe, ſhould find as difficult a Suit at *Rome* for Diſpenſation to marry, as the Duke of *Ferrara* did before him, for a Tranſport of his Tenure. Of *Naples* I can ſay nothing, either of probability, or poſſibility, as things now ſtand; only it is apparent, that the Popes have a very great Deſire unto it, and Opinion of good Title alſo, even in preſent: But the unfortunate Succeſs, and fearful Example of Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, hath given a freſh Stop, and great Check, both to their Deſire and Title. This *Sixtus Quintus* having, of a ſimple Friar, been advanced to the Papacy, by the Favour of

Spain

Spain only, which of long he had ſerved; foreſeeing very plainly, in his changed Diſcourſes, the inevitable Bondage, which, together with all *Italy*, the very Apoſtolick See, and Lady-Church of the World, was in ſhort time to fall into, if the Greatneſs of his Preferrer did grow as it began; whoſe irreligious Encroachment upon the Church-rights, whoſe tyrannous importuning them to ſerve his Turns and Humours, whoſe Bravadoes, Threats, Inſolencies, and Lording over them, his Eyes did ſee daily, and could not remedy; conſtrained by theſe imminent Dangers, and preſent Indignities, adventured to revive, and harbour in his Mind, the afflicted and forſaken Thoughts of *Paulus Quartus*, his Predeceſſor, and to embrace a Deſign of chaſing the *Spaniards* out of *Italy*; and eſpecially, of recovering the Realm of *Naples* to the Church, which hath now but a Quit-rent of four thouſand Crowns out of it, (ſent to them upon an Hackney) being one of the richeſt Plots that is in the World. For the effecting of which Purpoſe, by enhauncing his Impoſts of all Commodities, after the Example of other Princes and States, and his Neighbours, and by other Devices, together with good Management, in ſhort time he raiſed five Millions of Treaſure; a good Ground of War: And moreover, after the Example of the ſame *Paulus Quartus*, who brought into very *Rome* it ſelf two thouſand Almain Lutherans, to oppoſe againſt the Duke of Alba, King *Philip*'s General in

in *Italy*; yea, and was content to endure quietly thoſe Abuſes and Deſpites, which they dayly offered to his Images, and Sacrament, and ſundry other Devotions; as remaineth in a Report of Credit, not to except againſt: So that *Sixtus* began covertly to ſeek Strength from the Proteſtants, propending more to favour this *French* King's Labours; yea, and deſiring to entertain good Correſpondence with *England* alſo, as was ſtrongly ſuſpected; commending Her Majeſty's Government above all Princes in the World. By which Means and Endeavours, he drew upon him ſo great Fear and Hatred of the *Spaniſh* Party, and eſpecially of the Jeſuits, (from whom alſo, as being too rich for Vowers of Poverty, he took away, at one clap, above ten thouſand Crowns Rent, and beſtowed on S. *Peter*, as I have heard reported) that they ſtyled him a *Navarriſt*, a Schiſmatick, and Heretick, an Allie of the Devils; yea, and proteſted, they would farther proceed againſt him: And at this day they ordinarily give out in *Italy*, that the Devil, with whom he had Intelligence, came and fetcht him away; being, in truth, one of the worthieſt Popes this Age hath ſeen, and of a Mind moſt poſſeſſed with high and honourable Enterprizes. But the unproſperous event, as I ſaid, of this Project, for the uniting of *Naples* again to the Papacy, and his precipitated Ruin, who dared to advance it; having been poyſoned by *Spaniſh* Practice (as the wiſeſt there ſay) and while my ſelf was in *Italy*,

Italy, a Prieſt, one of the Pope's Subjects, reported in ſecret, that there was lately a Supplication put up to His Holineſs by a Perſon unknown, craving Abſolution at his hands, for making away of a Pope (which was thought, could be no other than this *Sixtus*) doth deter them that come after, from embarking themſelves in the like, and from imitating his Actions, whoſe End they have cauſe to tremble at.

So *Naples* remaineth in his View, that hath moſt Right to it; but in his Hands and Arms, that is ſtrongeſt to hold it; and is like ſo to continue, till ſome ſtout Pope, aſſiſted with greater Aids and Opportunities, ſhall adventure to ſend back that *Spaniſh* Hackney, with a great Horſe after him, as the Friar adviſed. And this for the Pope's temporal State, which may yield him, perhaps two Millions of yearly Revenue, by reaſon of the great Increaſe *Ferrara* hath brought; and be able to make at home, for their own Defence, ſome Hundred Thouſand fighting Men, or thereabout, if need were.

Of the Pope's ſucking from foreign Parts.

Beſides what Rent ariſing from the Pope's Patrimony, and Eſtate at home, that which he ſucketh from Foreign Parts is not ſmall, even at this day; though nothing, perhaps, in compariſon of thoſe former rich Times, when Money came in daily ſo flush from all Quarters, that their Temporal, of which now they make their Principal, was then but an acceſſory Additament

tament to their Greatneſs. For, among many other Blows which *Luther*, with his long Pen, hath given that See, it hath compelled them, beſides the entire Loſs in Countries revolted; even in thoſe which ſtick to them, to draw more moderately than before, for fear of offending. Yea, they have been driven alſo in theſe latter times, to ſhare, or yield up into the hands of great Princes (of *France* namely, and *Spain*) for the better aſſuring them, a great part of thoſe Fleeces which themſelves wont to ſhear from the Clergy heretofore, without any ſuch Partners. Howbeit, in *Italy*, and ſome other few places, their Annates and Tenths do ſtill run current: beſides the Spoglie, as they term them, or Strippings of Clergy-men at their Deaths(unleſs in their Life-time, by yearly Penſion, they liſt to redeem them;) and amount, no doubt, unto a good round Sum. His Gain out of *Spain* is thought matchable very near to that of *Italy*; which the Kings thereof do and will more contentedly endure, for the better Aſſuring of the Papacy to them; which otherwiſe were likely to run mainly with *France*. I would not report it, but that I have it from good place, that *Pius Quintus*, under pretences, after the Council of *Trent*, for viſiting and reforming of their Clergy, with other Papal Affairs, was complained of to the Council of *Spain*, to have drawn fourteen Millions from them out of that Kingdom. What Gain their Pardons bring, I cannot well eſtimate; they being

being not sold now to particular Persons, after their former usage, save in *Spain*, and those Out-appurtenances; where also the late King himself was said to have the greatest share, and in regard thereof, to have interposed his Regal Authority, in pressing their Sale upon all his People. It is to be presumed, that such a multitude of general, perpetual and plenary Indulgences, for all Times, Persons and Offences, besides other more limited, as are granted to the greatest part of the Religious Houses, and to some other Churches of *Italy*, and to sundry in *France* also, yield somewhat to the Holy Father, in way of thankful Acknowledgment, considering their Gain by them is not nothing.

The Cordeliere at Orleans, at the publishing of one Indulgence, picked up, as they say there, four Thousand Crowns at a Blow. But howsoever the Mystery of that Secret stand, this is plain and apparent, that the Papacy is content to use these Religious Houses, as very Spunges to drink what Juice they can from the People, that afterwards he may wring them out, one by one, in his own Convents. The Convents have from him these Indulgences of Grace, to remit Sins, and free Souls from the Flames of Purgatory; at the anniversary publishing whereof in their Churches, there stands in an eminent place, the Box of Devotion, with some poor begging Crucifix lightly before it, and two Tapers on each side, to see the Chink to put Money in. What Man can be so unthankful, so

stony

ſtony and dry-hearted, as to give nothing to them who have forgiven them ſo much; eſpecially, there never wanting ſome holy pretence to encourage, nor many a dear Eye to obſerve their good doings. Beſides this, the Pilgrimages to their miraculous Images (which draw great Commodity to the Cities alſo, and States; wherein the People, not ignorant thereof, help to ſet them a working: A Conſideration that bringeth Contentment therewith no leſs to the Princes; ſo ſweet is the Taſte of Gain from whatſoever) the viſiting of the holy Relicks; both which have their Offerings: The purchaſing of Maſſes, both Auxiliatory and Expiatory: Their Rewards for Praying, their Collections for Preaching; beſides ſundry other Duties: among which, their *Obits*; which are ſo beneficial, that their Account is, from a rich Man to draw, *Viis & Modis*, ſome hundred Crowns at his Funeral, or elſe it goes hard. Yea, this is ſo certain, and ſo good a Rent unto them, that if any Man of Sort ſhould be buried without their Solemnities, and ſome of their Orders to accompany his Coarſe, he ſhould be thought a very Heretick, and be ſure to have ſome odd Bruit ſet abroach concerning him: As fell out, not long ſince, to a wealthy Citizen at *Lucca*; who Willing by his Teſtament, to be buried in the Night, without their attending, tapering, cenſing, or ſinging, had a Rumour of him ſoon ſpread by the belly-devout Friars, whom Hunger and Loſs of Hope had made wickedly ire-

ful, that he was haunted and infested with black Rats on his Death-bed. A Matter of like truth to the Cordeliers Spirit at *Orleans*. These Means extraordinary, besides their ordinary Revenue, increasing often by Inheritances descending upon them; which happening to any of their Brotherhood, go to the Convent for ever, (such is the Law of *Italy*;) being granted or permitted by the Pope, to the Friars; and all to enrich them: The Law of Thankfulness requires, Reason and Equity allows, and their Vow of Poverty adviseth, that when they grow too rich, his Holiness should let them Blood in their over-full Veins, for his own necessary Sustenance; as did *Sixtus Quintus*; who pared away the Superfluities of sundry rich Convents, as fitter for his high State, and honourable Designs, than for them, who had Poverty in Recommendation. This Pope dealeth more gently by way of Loans; which may, perhaps, in the end, come all to one Reckoning. Besides which, when War against *Turks* or Hereticks, or any other Enemies of the Church, or any other great Affair, requires Employment of the Church-Treasure, there are Taxes and Subsidies imposed, or requested, to a certain proportion, upon the Revenue of all the Abbeys, and other Religious Convents in *Italy*, besides the rest of the Clergy; which can be no small matter: as it was done these last Years, for the Service of *Hungary*. I might add hereto the Roll of his Foreign Commodities, the Fees of Dispen-

Diſpenſations, chiefly in prohibited Degrees for Marriage; there being few Royal Families at this day in *Chriſtendom*, which by reaſon of their often Alliances, and Nearneſs of Blood, are able, by his Canons, to inter-marry, without his Licence. Which Faſhion of reſtraining of things lawful, upon ſhew of Vertue, that afterwards, by diſpenſing even with unlawful things, they may raiſe their Benefit, is the baſe Brood of the Mixture of Hypocriſie and Covetouſneſs, born to the common Calamity and Preſſure of them, for whoſe Eaſe and Felicity all Government was inſtituted. But by theſe, and infinite other Diſpenſations and Expeditions, his Papal Authority doth accommodate, and is accommodated reciprocally of all Nations; the Particularities whereof, I will not farther inſiſt upon, this being ſufficient to verifie this Aſſertion, That even at this day, thoſe Out-incomes are good Helps for an extraordinary Odd-charge, when need is. And yet, all this notwithſtanding, the Treaſure of the Church is ſmall. *Sixtus Quintus* left five Millions, by his great Racking and Husbandry. His Succeſſor, *Gregory* the XIV. waſted four of them in ten Months and leſs (above his ordinary Revenue) in Pomp and Riot. This Man is very chary over that one remaining; and deſtilleth all other Devices, rather than ſet Finger to that String; which yet his late Proweſſes have cauſed him to eſſay. But were the Church-Rent and Gain how huge ſoever, two aſſidual Horſe-

Leeches, which never lin ſucking it, will never ſuffer it to ſwell over-greatly in Treaſure. The firſt is the high Place of Honour, which he takes far above all other Princes and Monarchs in the World; which draweth him to an ineſtimable Charge in all places, to carry it with Countenance and Comlineſs requiſite; being forced thereby in his own Train, in the Entertainment he gives Princes, in his Allowance to his Legates, Nuncio's, and other Miniſters, which, according to his own Greatneſs, are ſent into all Countries; and laſtly, in furniſhing out to the multitude of his Actions and Practices over the World, to raiſe his Charge, for the moſt part, according to the proportion of his high State: For Honour and Frugality are the unfitteſt Companions that can be: It is Liberality and Expence, which both breeds and maintains Honour. Neither can a judicial Man perhaps, wiſh worſe to his Enemy, than to have an honourable Calling, and a poor Living.

Another thing which keeps the Papacy always ſo bare; yea, and makes their Temporal State the worſe governed in *Italy*, for ſo it is counted, is in their often Change of Popes, by reaſon of their Years, the infinite deſire each hath to advance his Kindred; his Children firſt, if he hath any; as *Paulus Tertius*, who left his baſe Iſſue no leſs than Dukes of *Placentia* and *Parma*: And *Gregory* the XIII. more lately; who made his baſe Son Duke of Soz and Caſtellan of St. Angelo. And if they have no Children,

Children, or liſt not to be known of them, then their Nephews, and other Kinſmen; which is common to them all. Yea, it often falls out, that thoſe Popes, who have not any known Children of their own, by extending their Love larger, to a greater multitude of Nephews; yet deſiring, for their own Renown, and perpetuating of their Name, to raiſe them to as great State and Wealth as they can poſſibly, do conſume more the Goods and Treaſure of the Church, than thoſe other, who have their Loves, though ſtronger, yet to fewer: As was apparent in the two *Gregories*; the XIII. with his few Sons, and the XIV. with the multitude of his Nephews and Kinſmen. And theſe Men, being raiſed often, from the bottom of Baſeneſs, to the heighth of Pride and Power, having no hold in their hands, nor ſcantling of their Fortunes, as having never been in the middle Eſtate, which is the Meaſure of both Extreams, do fall into Riot, able to ruin any Prince; and rage and ravin in their Offices and Governments, as they, that knowing their Time ſhort, mean to uſe it to the full proof; the Examples whereof are both many and freſh, which, for their foulneſs and baſeneſs, I liſt not to repeat. For which Cauſe, it was a good help for *Sixtus Quintus* to be Pope, that he had ſmall Kindred: Though that Ground is moveable, ſeeing Pedigrees change, for the moſt part, together with Men's Fortunes; which, as a conſcionable Arbitrator, neither annoys the Poor ever with multi-

tude of Kinſ-men, nor diſcomforts the Rich with Paucity.

Of the Clergy, under Papacy.

For the State of the reſt of the Clergy, under the Papacy, it varieth as the Countries. In *Spain*, the Prelates are exceeding rich in Revenue; the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo* not inferior to ſome Kingdoms. In *Italy*, the Livings of the Prelates are competent, conſidering the exceſſive multitude; yet with ſo great diverſity, that ſome mere Biſhopricks are above twenty thouſand Crowns Rent, and other ſome under one thouſand: But the Cuſtom of *Italy*, which avoideth, yea, and blameth multitude of Servants, and great Houſe-keeping, in all Sorts and Degrees, makes a ſmall matter ſufficient, and a great ſuperfluous. Beſides, there to have many Livings, is a matter of Credit, not of Profit only; though as wiſe Men as they, have thought otherwiſe of it; to be a private great Burthen, and a publick great Miſchief. The Pariſh-Prieſts in *Italy*, who have not the Tenths (which, in a Country, whoſe Soil yields three Harveſts, in ſundry places in a Year, would amount to an huge matter, and conſidering the great Rents and Exactions would be inſupportable) but have, inſtead of them, certain Farms as Glebe-land appropriate, and ſome certain Quantity out of the Increaſe of their Neighbours; are ſo provided for, that the meaneſt lightly, which are their *Curati*, have an hundred Crowns a Year;

and

and the *Piovani*, which are the Priests of Mother-Churches, from two hundred, to five hundred, and upward sometimes, which they help out with Masses, as Occasion serves; which are still, in *Italy*, as cheap as a Groat. In *Germany*, the Prelates are likely great Princes; and great Nobility required, to have those Places. In *France*, the Clergy have been in fore-times most flourishing; their Revenue amounting, when Land and all things were cheapest, to six Millions in the whole; besides their great Places and Authority in their State, and their ample Jurisdiction in their several Precincts.

At this day they are fallen generally, especially the inferior part, into great Misery and Beggary, accompanied with all base and vile Conditions; whereby the Country-people are grown also utterly without Knowledge of God, or Sense of Religion; being fallen into those Terms, that Plenty, which should make Men thankful, makes them but wanton; and Affliction, which should make Men repentant, makes them desperate; and nothing can better them. The whole Realm, in sum, hath been scourged with a three-stringed Whip; War, Ill Government, and Injustice particularly; whereof the two latter are like to last still; whilst on the one side, the Places of Justice are sold by the Drum; on the other side, the Church-Prelacies, and other Governments of Souls, are made the Fees and Charges of meer Courtiers and Soldiers, whose Merits would have Rewards, but

ſuiting to their Quality; which, in a Realm ſo abounding with Means, could not be wanting, but by too much want of Indifferency and Meaſure, heaping all upon a few, and moſt where are leaſt Deſerts; whereas theſe ſo unfit, and ill-ſuited Recompences, diſtemper that Harmony, which ſhould be in a flouriſhing Eſtate, and overwhelm the Land with all kind of Corruption and Confuſion.

Of the Pope, and his Election.

But to return to the Papacy; or rather now, to the Pope himſelf: And firſt, to His Election; the Right whereof having been of Old in the Clergy and People, and from thence transferred to the Emperor's Nomination, is now wholly remitted to the College of Cardinals: So that two third parts of their Voices that are preſent are requiſite to him, that either by Adoration, or in Scrutiny, ſhall win that Glory. Which double proportion of Voices to agree, makes this Election of greater difficulty, and gives occaſion of rarer Stratagems and Devices in it, than, I ſuppoſe, are to be found in any other in the World. I have heard, that in theſe latter Times, a Cardinal of Sicily, whoſe Holineſs and Learning advanced him to that Dignity (for of ſome ſuch always there is Care to make Choice, for divers Conſiderations) entring the Conclave to an Election, and expecting, that by inceſſant Prayer, as in Times of Old, ſome Divine Inſpiration ſhould have pointed out Chriſt's Vicar;

Vicar; but finding, when he was there, nothing but practising and canvassing, promising and terrifying, bandying and combining, setting of some up for Stalls, only to ease Passage for other, who were reserved till the last Cast, when former Hopes and Angers being spent and evaporated, had abated the prime Edge and Strength of Opposition: In sum, being himself also assaulted by all Means; yea, tugged and haled, now by one part, now by another, the good Man agast, as in a Matter so clean contrary to his fore-framed Expectation; *Ad hunc modum*, quoth he, *fiunt Pontifices Romani?* And therewithal, so soon as that Conclave was broken, retired to his Country, and would never see *Rome* again. But the Matter of greatest Mark herein at this day, is the Power of the King of *Spain*, in swaying those Elections; who by Pensions, by Preferments, by Hopes of the highest, having assured a great third part of the Cardinals to him, and to be always at his Devotion in all Elections; whereby having the Exclusive, as they term it, no Pope can be made, but with his Liking. He proceeds on, by his Ambassadors, to name also some five or six unto them, whereof please they to chuse any, he shall rest well satisfied. Which Course, though it mightily distaste the rest of the Cardinals, who are hereby for ever debarred from their chief Desire; yea, and inwardly much afflict the great States of *Italy*, who are loth to have their Pope of a Spanish Edition; yet is there no Remedy:

one

one of thoſe, in fine, they needs muſt chuſe; the Diſcretion they can have is only this, to chuſe ſuch of them as is likely to prove leaſt to his purpoſe. A memorable Example hereof in the Election of the laſt *Gregory*; where a greater part of the Cardinals inflamed againſt the King, and bandying againſt him; yet, in concluſion, after two Months Impriſonment in the Conclave, were forced to relent, and to chuſe one of his Nominates; or otherwiſe, a clear Caſe, no Election at all: Which, whether there were or no, made no matter to *Spain*; who ſtood upon the ſurer Ground in his excluſive Obſtinateneſs. The Neceſſity of the Church, the State of the Papacy, their own preſent Condition, the Diſorders of the City of *Rome*, and of all their Territory; which, in Want of a Pope, and in this Locking up of the Cardinals, as it were into a Cellar, do ſwarm exceedingly, did mainly cry out to have ſome Pope or other; which at laſt they yielded to, by conſenting upon a Favourite, yea, and Subject of *Spain* alſo; for ſuch was that *Gregory*. Howbeit, the main Matter runs not with him ſo clearly; they being not the ſame Men, that are choſen, and that are Popes; but changing, with their Eſtate, both Name and Nature alſo: Yea, ſometimes, not eaſie to find two divers Men of Humour more different, than is the ſame Man in his Cardinalſhip, and in his Papality. Whereof no Man better Witneſs than *Sixtus Quintus*; the moſt crouching humble Cardinal that was ever

lodged

lodged in an Oven, and the moſt ſtout reſolute Pope that ever wore Crown: In his Cardinalſhip, a meer Slave, and Vaſſal of *Spain*; in his Papacy, the dangerouſeſt Enemy *Spain* had in the World: In ſum, Who, in his Cardinalſhip, was ſcorned, as a baſe Friar; in his Papacy was redoubted as a Prince of great Worth and Spirit.

Neither is there any Marvel to be made of this Difference, ſeeing the Hope of obtaining, and of maintaining the Papal Honour, are ſo clean contrary: Seeing in the one Eſtate, they faſhion themſelves to all other Men's Humours; in the other, they look, that all Men ſhould accommodate themſelves to their Honours: And laſtly, Seeing thoſe Princes, whoſe Favour is the only Means to compaſs the Place, their Power is the only Terrour of quelling down the Eſtate. For which Cauſe, as in general, the Cardinals do, in their Hearts, favour *France* above *Spain*; both as being the weaker Part, and the farther Neighbour, and the only Hope to maintain Counterpoize againſt the others Greatneſs. So let the King of *Spain* make what Choice among them of a Pope he can, he ſhall find, that as long as thoſe Reaſons continue, whoſoever ſits in the Seat, will reſpect more his own Safety, than the Service of his Preferrer; even as doth this very Pope; who, for that Cauſe, is conceived to have made ſome Alteration of inward firm Friendſhips, though holding in good Terms of Love and Loyalty with both. But this uncertainty and mutability of the new Pope's Affections,

ctions, doth cauſe both the King of *Spain*, and other Princes of *Italy*, above all things, to aim at a Man of a calm Nature, and not ſtirring Metal, that if they cannot make any great Account of his Friendſhips, yet this natural Diſpoſition and Temper may aſſure them, that he will not be a Raiſer of new Stirs in *Italy*; as divers of them, to ſcamble ſomewhat for their own, have been: As on the other ſide, an eſpecial good Inducement to the Cardinals, is his Age and Sicklineſs, that the Place may be made void again; for the gaining whereof, there is always practiſing and plotting anew, immediately upon the Election.

And thus is the Pope made, who hath his Council of Cardinals to attend and adviſe him; he choſen by them, and they created by him: Whoſe number may amount, they ſay, to Seventy two: But many Places are kept void ſtill, to ſerve for deſperate Puſhes; and of thoſe that are, ſome twenty, lightly, are the younger Sons of Dukes and Princes; who, in caſe their Anceſtors States ſhould deſcend upon them, with Diſpenſation from the Pope, would reſign up their Hats. Among the Cardinals, for their own Honour, and for the gratifying of the World, are ſorted out, and divided, all the Orders of Religion, and all the Nations of *Chriſtendom*; whereof they are appointed the particular Protectors in the Court of *Rome*: As the Protector of *England* now, is, Cardinal Gaietane; a ſtout Man, of *Spaniſh* Faction; who

who hath been Legate into *France*, and more lately into *Poland*; but is now returned. Among this Council also, being compacted of many Personages of very eminent Sufficiency, what for their Learning, what for their Experience: And weighty Employments are parted, as by way of several Congregations, according to the Use of the several Councils in *Spain*, all the important Affairs, as well standing, as by daily new Occasions arising, of the Church and Papacy: By which Means, they both disburthen the Pope of much lighter Business, and the greater Causes, by long and exact Discussion, are ripened, and made fit for his Decision. Such is the Congregation for Propagation of Christian Religion, The Congregation of the Inquisition, The Congregation for *England*, The Congregation of Bishops, for all Controversies which happen between them and their Subjects; A Congregation for any Diversity of Opinion, in matter of Religion, between School-men, or Friars: With sundry such other. A Course lately there begun, but of good Importance, and well worthy to be imitated.

Of the Pope present; his Race, Name and Life.

Now for **This Pope**, who by Race and Name, a *Florentine*; but his Father having been chased thence, upon a Conspiracy against Duke *Cosimo*, by Birth became a kind of *Roman*; I have little more to say, than that which I have before touched. He is reputed to be a Man of a good

a good calm Diſpoſition, and not too crafty; yet cloſe and ſuſpicious, and thereby ſecured to hold his own well enough; kind to his Friends, and devout in his Way; and thinks, without doubt, that he is in the right. He will weep very often; (ſome conceive, upon a Weakneſs and Tenderneſs of Mind, habituated therein by Cuſtom: Others ſay, upon Piety and Godly Compaſſion:) At his Maſſes, in his Proceſſions, at the fixing up his Jubilees, his Eyes are ſtill watering, ſometimes ſtreaming with Tears: Inſomuch, that for Weeping, he ſeems another *Heraclitus*, to balance with the laſt *Gregory*, another *Democritus* for Laughing. Touching his ſecret Life, the *Italians* ſpeak ſomewhat diverſly; eſpecially for his younger Years. But Men's Tongues are always prone to attaint their Governours; and the worſt Men ſpeak worſt, as hoping themſelves to lurk under the Blemiſhes of their Betters. For my part, hearing no extraordinary bad Matter againſt him, but only by Suſpicion, I judge the beſt; and how ſoever, had rather preſerve the Credit of an ill Man, than ſtain or impair it in a good. For his Years, he doth little exceed Threeſcore and three; but is troubled with the Dropſie, and that cauſed (ſome ſay) or accompanied with a thirſty Infirmity.

For a Prelate, he hath good Commendation, a Favourer of Learning, and Advancer of them, whoſe Studies have been to the Advancement of his See: An Enemy to the licentious Life of Friars;

Friars; yea, to the Pomp alſo, and Secular Bravery of Cardinals; howbeit more deſiring Reformation in both, than daring to attempt it in either, for ought that yet appears: Very magnifical and ceremonial in his outward Comportment; in his private, auſtere and humble, as his Friends ſay: In managing the Church-temporal Goods, rather thrifty, than liberal; but of their Spiritual Treaſure of Supererogatory Works in Indulgences and Pardons (which he uſeth, not only as charitable Reliefs of the Needy, but as honourable Gifts alſo to reward Princes that have preſented him:) In theſe I ſhould think him very exceeding waſteful, but that where the Treaſure is infinite, there the Spender, in ordinary Account, cannot be prodigal. For a Prince, he hath been thought ſomewhat defective heretofore, as being neither of deep Reſolution, nor of great Spirit: But fortunate Men are wiſe, and Conquerors valiant. And ſurely, this Man's Projects and Accounts have ſo well proſpered, what in Reduction of the *French* King, by proſecuting him to Extremity; what in the matter of *Ferrara*, what in working the great Peace (the Honour whereof, by the moſt, is wholly attributed to the Pope; though others ſay, he was importuned to deal in it by the *Spaniard*, being ſo tyred, and waſted out, with troubling his Neighbours, that in fine, no Deſire, no Hope, but in Peace only) that it hath purchaſed him the Opinion, not only of a fortunate and wiſe

Pope,

Pope, but of one who doth sincerely affect the Quiet of *Christendom*; and thinks nothing remaining to the heighth of his Glory, but to be the Author of an universal League, and War against the *Turk*, against whom he hath sundry times given Aid already, for which End, it is conceived, notwithstanding his Ability and Opportunity extraordinary, what by his Excommunications, and what by his ready Army, to have righted himself; that yet he hath laid by his own particular Pretenses, as well against the great Duke of *Tuscany*, for *Borgo di San Sepulchro*, which belongs to the Church; as also, and more principally, against the *Venetians*, for *Urbino*, and the Towns; which they have rent by War, and retain from *Ferrara*, (not to mention that ancient Quarrel, touching the Patriarchship of *Aquileia*; whose Territory, even all *Friuli*, their State is said to have usurped;) that no private temporal Commodity of his Church and See might give Impediment to the publick most necessary Good, in withstanding and repressing the grand Enemy of Christendom. These Thoughts surely are honourable, neither unnecessary for his own future Safety, considering how near a Neighbour the Turk is to him, and how often his State hath been afflicted by him, and sometimes enhazarded. But now for his near Neighbours, the great Duke, and the *Venetians*; as their States, so their Loves, and his, are but neighbourly; they thinking his Growing to be their Stop,

Stop, and Endangering. But the *Venetians*, perhaps, fear him, and the great Duke hates him more: The *Venetians*, as having ſtill even painted in their great Palace, and daily before their Eyes, the Extremity to which former Popes Excommunications have brought them; (having their State as ill ſeated, in regard of potent Neighbours, who all gape after them upon any Advantage, as any that I know again in the World; the *Turk* confining and bordering with them on the Eaſt, the King of *Spain* on the Weſt, the Emperor on the North, the Pope on the South;) who can never want Pretence, they holding that which they liſt not yield; beſides ſome Jealouſies and Diſcourteſies paſſed lately between them, and the Pope and his Cardinals. The great Duke, not only for that hereditary Enmity firſt, and that perſonal Diſcourteſie ſince; at what time, affecting the Title of the King of *Tuſcany* (whereof his Wife is written Queen by ſome already) and having got (as is ſaid) the Emperor's Liking, the Pope denyed him; putting him off with a Diſtinction, that he was content he ſhould be King in *Tuſcany*, but not King of *Tuſcany*; which Scholaſtical Subtilties, plain Suiters do not love: but much more for that Correſpondence of Conference and Favour, which is thought to be between the Pope, and thoſe popular *Florentines*, who diſtaſted with their Home-Government, once free, now almoſt ſervile, live both elſewhere abroad, and at *Rome*, in exceeding Store; eſpecially,

seeing not only this Pope in the Faction of his particular Family, but all Popes, in the Affection which the Papacy it self doth engender, do naturally more desire, that their Neighbour State should be popular; as having the Ground of their Greatness in swaying the Multitude. But generally, the Dukes of *Tuscany* will be always regardful to hold the best Correspondence with the Popes, that may be; as having their State more open to assault on that side, the rest being surrounded by the Apennine and the Sea. To conclude. This Pope, where there is no private Cause of dis-favouring his Person, or disallowing his Place, carrieth the Name of a good Pope: And they which do subtilize the Points of Goodness more curiously, will say, that *Pius Quintus* was a good Prelate, but no good Prince; that *Sixtus Quintus*, a good Prince, but no good Prelate; *Gregory* the XIII. a good Prelate, a good Prince, but no good Man; this Pope, both good Man, good Prelate, and good Prince.

And so I leave him, wishing his daily increase in all parts of true Goodness; whereof his Church hath too little, I ween, and himself haply, as other good Men, nothing too much: and return now to the Papacy.

Of the Nations which adhere unto the Papacy, especially Italy.

The next Point wherein, which cometh to be considered, is, what Power it is of, at this day, in the World, by reason of those Nations which

which either in whole, or great part, ſtill adhere unto it; which are Italy, with his Iſlands; Spain, with his Indies; Germany, with his Dutch (which I account the ſeventeen Provinces of the *Low-Countries* on the one ſide, the thirteen Cantons of *Swiſſe*, and three Leagues of *Griſons* on another, and Bohemia, with Moravia and Silefia on a third) and laſtly, the great united, well-ſeated, fruitful, populous Kingdom of *France*, with his Neighbours of Lorain and Savoy: (whom, though Princes of the Empire whenſoever themſelves liſt, and find it for their profit, yet, in regard of their greater Affinity to *France*, both in Language and Fashions, which conſociate alſo Affections, I annex unto it:) Of all which, ſome brief View ſeems neceſſary to be taken. For as for Poland and Transilvania, with Walachia, and the Remains of Hungary; by reaſon of their near and dangerous confining with the Great Turk, together with the multitude of Religions which are ſwarming in them, in *Poland* eſpecially (of which it is ſaid, by way of Bye-word, That if a Man have loſt his Religion, let him go ſeek it in *Poland*, and he ſhall be ſure to find it; or elſe make account, it is vaniſhed out of the World) there is no great Reckoning to be made of their force either way. Then England, with the more Northern Kingdoms, Scotland, Denmark and Sweden (whoſe King notwithſtanding, is of the *Roman* Faith now, but hath few there that follow him;) they are accounted,

counted, wholly to have cast off the Papacy. For albeit they make reckoning of many Favourers in them (as of forty hundred sure Catholicks in *England* alone, with four hundred *English Roman* Priests, to maintain that *Addaria*) who, upon Quarrel with the Jesuits, Affecters of Superiority, and Disgracers of all that refuse to depend upon them, have instantly, of late, demanded a Bishop of the Pope, to be chosen by them, and to be resident among them; but are croſt in that Desire, by the Countermine of an Arch-Priest (obtruded upon them by the Practice of the Jesuits.) Yet this is so small a Proportion, being compared with the whole, as not to be esteemed; especially, seeing in *Italy*, accounted wholly theirs, there are full forty thousand professed Protestants, that have Exercise of their Religion also, in the Vallies of *Piemont* and *Saluzzo*; besides sundry Gentlemen in *Piemont*, who live abroad, and resort unto them. In *Lucca* also, a great part are thought Favourers of the Reformation; and some of that sort there are scattered in all places, especially in the State of *Venice*: but their Paucity and Obscurity shall include them in a Cypher. So that for *Italy*, we will account it wholly to stand for the Papacy. True it is, that the Princes, and other free States of *Italy*, little favour the Pope's enlarging in his temporal Dominion at home; being already of a large size, in proportion with theirs; and especially, for those Pretences which his See never wanteth, and those extraor-

extraordinary Advantages, which the Concurrence of his Spiritual Supremacy, by Interdictions, Excommunications, Discharging Oaths of Obedience, doth give him, above all other Princes in the World; which they also, above all other Men in the World, have greatest Cause to fear; both in regard of the huge multitude of Priests, Prelates and Friars, wherewith he hath fortified himself exceedingly in all other States, and in theirs, above all, excessively; as also for that Discontent, which their cruel and crying Extortions and Oppressions, by Monopolies and Taxes, by Impositions upon Men's Persons, upon their Lands and Goods, upon their Viands and Markets, upon their Trades and Labours, upon their Successions, upon their Marriages, in sum, upon all beneficial or easeful Actions, have bred in their own miserable and consumed Subjects; who wish rather, that all *Italy* were reduced into the hands of some one Natural Potentate, whose Greediness, how great soever, they were able to satisfie; and of the Pope's, above all Men's, who promiseth some more Lenity, by his late Example at *Ferrara*, where he remitted many Imposts, which their late Dukes had raised; than to be thus daily racked, flayed and devoured by so many petty Tyrants, as it were, with their prolling Gabelliers, whose Ambitions and Emulations, whose Prides and Pleasures, thirteen Millions of yearly Revenue, which *Italy* now yieldeth them, is not able to exstiate. Howbeit, though, as I

said, for these important Causes, the Princes and States of *Italy* no way favour the Pope's Strength in his Temporal at home (considering withal, what swelling and turbulent Spirits mount sometimes into that Chair, who have purposely set *Italy* on a flaming Fire, that in the sacking of many, themselves might get somewhat, for the advancing of such, as Nature and Blood did cause them to love best;) yet on the contrary side, for his Spiritual Power and Sovereignty abroad, they wish it upheld and restored, if it were possible, both for the Honour of their Nation, which is thereby the triumphant Queen of the World; and much more for the Commodity, which by Victuary, they and theirs reap thence in more abundance, than all other together; what by sharing, as Occasion serves, in his Booties abroad; what by being always in sight, to receive Favours at home; what by that which necessarily sticks to them, in very passing through their Territories. Then to exclude any Innovation, their own Safety, and not Quiet alone, persuades them, it being dangerous, in a Body so full of diseased and discontented Humours, to change or stir any thing, seeing all Alteration sets Humours on working; and one Humour on foot, quickneth up all other, what allured by Sympathy, what by Antipathy provoked; the End whereof is either the dissolving of Nature, by length of Conflicts, or the disburthening of Nature, by expelling that which before oppress it. For this

this Cause, no Audience to be given to the Reformation, as Enemy to their Peace, which is the Nurse of their Riches, and sole Anchor of their Safety. For it were but Simplicity to think, that Conscience, and Love of Truth, did sway this Deliberation; the World having, in most places, done Religion that Honour, as to remove it out of those secret dark Cabinets of the Heart, where the Jealousie of some devout Dreamers of the Gardens of Paradise had imprison'd it; and advanced it to the fairest sight and shew of the World, even to make a very Mask, or Vizard of it, with Eyes and Mouth fairly painted, and proportioned to all Pretences and Purposes: And other of yet more gallant free Spirit, have given it a general Pass, to go whither it self list, so it come not near them. It doth grieve me to speak; yea, the Thought of it must needs bring Horrour and Detestation, what a multitude of Atheists do brave it in all places; there most, where the Papacy is most in his prime, what Renouncers of God, Blasphemers of his Son, Villanizers of his Saints, and Scorners of his Service; who think it a glorious Grace, to adore the King of a Country, but to name or think reverently of the Creator of the World, to proceed from a timorous, very base-mindedness, and abjectedness: Of so deep Reach and Judgment are these Pedlars in their Proportions, who know no other Magistrates, but those of their Parishes. These Men are favourable alike to all Religions,

but can best endure that, wherein they are least checked, and may range with most impunity. But for the Soldiery of this Age (a Profession and Exercise, in old time reputed for an only School of Vertue, but now infamed with all Vice and Villanys, in old time such, that the wisest Philosopher thought it Reason sufficient, why the *Lacedæmonians* were generally more vertuous than other Nations, because they followed the Wars more; but this day, a Cause, in all places, of clean contrary Effects) these desperate Atheisms, these *Spanish* Renountings, and *Italian* Blasphemings, have now so prevailed in our Christian Camps, that if any refrain them, he shall be upbraided as no Soldier, or gallant-minded Man; that the very *Turks* have the Christians blaspheming of *Christ* in Execration, and will punish their Prisoners sorely, when, through Impatience, or Desperateness, they burst into them. Yea, the *Jews*, in their Speculations of the Causes of the strange Successes of the Affairs of the World, assign the Reason of the *Turks* prevailing so against the Christians, to be their Blasphemies, and blasphemous Oaths, which wound the Ears of the very Heavens, and cry to the high Throne of Justice, for speedy Vengeance. As for great Persons and Princes, of whom it was said by the *Spanish* Friar, That few went to Hell; and the Reason, because they were few; it is a rare thing, and happy, where-ever it falls out, that any of them hath any true and affecting Sense of those first

and

and undoubted Grounds of Religion, to what Sort or Sect soever it propend. Their Examples, I speak of many of them, which were able to be the sovraign Restorers of Vertue, and Re-establishers of an happy World, with the endless Bliss of many Millions now perishing through their great Default; are on this day, the only Ruin and Despair of Goodness; having forgotten whose Lieutenants they are in the World, for what End they are placed, for what Cause they are honoured; and most of all, what a great Account they have to pass at the last Audit, when their Favourites and Fancy-feeding Flatterers shall all shrink from them, and nothing but their own Deeds and Deserts accompany them. But all these, whether Atheists in Opinion, or in Conversation (between whom, small Choice) being reckoned, or let pass, to make up the number; yet hold I, that from *Italy*, more Wishes than other, help to maintain the Papacy abroad, by reason of the Partition of it into such a multitude of States; where the Greater do nothing but limbeck their Brains in the Arts of Alchymy and Balancing, to enrich themselves; by the one, drawing Gold out of all things; and by the other, to poise their Neighbours, and keep them of equal weight, there adding some help of their hand, where the Scales are lighter: And the lesser States flee most to the Protection of the Chief; as the City of *Genoua*, and *Lucca*, the Duke of *Urbine*, the Signor of *Piombino*,

kind, with certain other; who all recognize the King of *Spain* for their Patron; as casting by him to be sufficiently secured from the Encroachments of the other three; and counting, that from him, the united Consent of all the rest, will still preserve them, to whom his greatness is fearful, and his growing would be pernicious. There have been of them also, as the last Duke of *Ferrara*, who have apparently entertained both Amity and straight Intelligence with sundry of the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, on purpose to hold their Neighbours, and especially the Pope, in awe of calling the Protestants in to their Succour, if they should either assail, or otherwise provoke them. And thus much for *Italy*.

Of Spain.

The next is **Spain**, reputed wholly the Pope's also; as having been a long time governed by the most devoted King, and longer curbed in by the most cruel Inquisition, that ever the World had, for the upholding of that Way. Howbeit, the State of *Spain* is not to be passed so lightly over; wherein though my self have never been, yet by manifold Enquiry and information from some of their own, and from others who have been in it, Men of Knowledge and Credit, thus much do I conceive, touching the State of their Religion: That as of a Nation which aimeth so apparently at the Monarchy of the whole West, it is at this day, none

of

of the most puissant, to atchieve the same; their Country being so generally exhaust of Men, what eaten up with long War, what transplanted into their huge number of *Indian* Colonies, that their Cities remain now wholly peopled with Women, having some old Men among them, and many young Children; whereof the Grave attends the one, and foreign Service the other; a fit State for an Amazonian Empire to be revived in. So likeless for a Kingdom that hath the Surname of Catholick, none in greater danger in the World, either wholly, or in great part, to cast off Christianity; unless Grace from above, and better Wisdom, do stay the increase of those pestilent Cankers of Mahometism and Judaism, which threaten the final Decay, and Eating out of Christianism. And to carry this Matter with an indifferent Course of Report, neither aggravating it so much as some do in their Doubt and Jealousie, nor yet extenuating it so much as other some in their Confidence and Jollity; seeing Fear casts beyond, and Hope short of the very Danger: There is in *Spain* a sort of People of the Marrani, as they term them, who are baptized Jews and Moors; and many of them, in secret withal, circumcised Christians; who are spread over the whole Land, but swarm most in the South Parts confining with Africa; and are in such store, that in many places, as some say, they exceed the true Christians, by no small proportion; They which say least, and speak favourably

favourably for the Honour of *Spain*, will say, there are of them, an hundred thousand Families; in which, at the least, an hundred thousand Men, able to bear Arms.

All which, though conforming themselves, in some sort of outward Shew, unto the Christian Religion, yet are thought, in Heart, to be utterly averse from it, and to retain an inward Desire to return to that Superstition, from which their Ancestors, by Rigour and Terrour, were driven. And the *Jews* will say in *Italy*, that there come divers *Spaniards* to them, to be circumcised there, and so away to Constantinople, to plant in the East. The State of *Spain* is often in fear of these Men rebelling; and especially, that they would joyn with any Enemies that should invade them: For although they are forbidden to have any Arms, and yearly Search be made for it over all the Kingdom, in an unknown, and least suspected Instant, yet is there no doubt, but armed they are, and have their secret Caves and Devices to conceal them. This sort continually growing, by living quietly at home; and the other part decaying daily, by foreign Employment; what the Issue may be, though Reason may probably conjecture, yet Time only and Proof can give Assurance. That famous and fearful Inquisition of *Spain* was instituted first, on purpose, against these Mongrel Christians, some hundred Years since: At what time, when King *Ferdinand*, by chasing the Jews, Moors and Arabians out of his Dominions,

Dominions, merited the Name of King Catholick, great numbers of them chusing rather to make change of their Religion in shew, than of their Country indeed, consented to receive Baptism; which in secret, they soon polluted, or renounced, by Circumcision, and other Superstitions, wherein the Arabians and Moors concurred with the Jews; and so continued with a false Face, and double Heart; and have transmitted both the one and the other to their Offspring, to this very day. But this Inquisition being first, as I said, brought in to chastise those Miscreants (besides that in *Arragon*, a freer State than the rest) being received only for term of eighty years, it is in right, long since expired, and holdeth only by Title of the King's Pleasure and Possession: And the Portugals also have lately renewed their old Suit, together with their old Offer of an huge Sum of Money, to buy out, at least wise, the Rigour and Injustice of it, in their Countries, and for their Persons; which it is thought, this young King hath meaning to accept, if the Sweetness of Tyranny, which by Courts of so voluntary and Lawless Proceeding, is principally supported, do give no hindrance. The Eye and Edge of it hath been so wholly, of latter times, converted to the rooting out of the Reformed Religion in all places, that the other sort, by neglecting them, have grown in Strength, and by their Strength, now begin to despise their Chastisers; whom Fear, they say, enforceth often

often to wink at many things, which no Eye open, but needs muſt ſee. Thus fareth it with Gardens, wherein greater Care is taken to pull up the ſuſpected Herbs, than to keep down the apparent Weeds. What farther Hopes this Sect may have, I know not: This is clear, that a great part of the *Spaniſh* Nobility is mixed, at this day, with *Jewiſh* Blood, by marrying of their younger Brethren, for Wealths ſake, with the *Jews*; upon whom, in time, the Elder failing, the Honour and Houſe hath deſcended. But to leave theſe Parrans; Another peſtilent Sect there was, not long ſince, of the *Illuminati*, in *Arragon*; whoſe Founders were an hypocritical Crew of their Prieſts; who affecting in themſelves and Followers a certain Angelical Purity, fell ſuddenly to the very Counterpoint of juſtifying Beſtiality. But theſe Men, and their Light, are quenched ſome while ſince. The laſt, and obſcureſt ſort, are the poor perſecuted Proteſtants, againſt whom, all Laws, all Writs, all Tortures, are ſtrongly bent: All which notwithſtanding, there are thought to be no fewer than twenty thouſand in *Sevil* it ſelf, who, in Heart, are that Way; Among whom, certain Books of the Religion being ſecretly diſperſed, the Inquiſitors, for their number-ſake who were to be touched, were required to forbear, and to provide ſome other way.

In ſum, I have heard it acknowledged by ſome of their own Country and Religion, that among

among other things, the Scandals of their Clergy and Friars, especially in forging Miracles in their Spirits and Images, do draw the People to a Loathing and Suspicion of their Way; and were it not for the Inquisition, he thought, generally, they would fall away, and turn Protestants in short time. They have in *Spain*, as he told me, a Crucifix, whose Hair and Nails fall a growing now in his old Age, as in a dead Man executed, the rest not stirring; at which, the devouter Men of the Clergy jerk up their Eyes, and the wiser of the Laity wag their Heads. That holy Nun of *Portugal*, of whom the *Spaniards*, taken Prisoners in Eighteen, made so much vaunting, who had the five Wounds bleeding on her, and the print of the Crucifix in the Skin of her Breast; to whom that Invincible Army repaired, for Benediction to set forward their Victory, is lately apprehended and condemned for a Sorceress, upon a general information of the whole Sisterhood against her; who hating her for her Arrogancy, and watching her Fingers, in fine, discovered, that the one was no other than a forced Rawness of the Flesh, procured by frosting Herbs and Waters, when she meant to shew her self; and the other came by continual binding of a little graven Crucifix to the part so printed. The famous Lady of *Guadalupe*, who transporteth through the Air such Prisoners in *Africa*, as vow themselves unto her, is said by some other, to have her Credit impaired, by occasion

occasion of a Fugitive Servant, who being run from his Master, was suborned by the Friars to play that fleeing part; complaining that our Lady, for the Wickedness of this Age, did restrain those Graces; but yet, that it was a Godly Act, to maintain Men in their Devotions. In fine, he was disclosed, and seized on by his Master. But this is more certain, and of more general Report, That for the Weeping and Sweating of their Images, they have had a trick in all places, to bore Holes behind them, and put into them the new-cut Sprigs of a Vine; which being of a bleeding Nature, and dropping easily through the thin Plaster remaining unpierced, make shew of Tears, or Sweat, as they list. Yea, some of their *Italian* Friars have confessed withal, that their Fashion is, when their Gimmals are all in Tune for a Miracle, to enjoyn some silly old Woman, in her Confession, to say her Devotions before the Altar, where the Image, prepared to play a Miracle, is seated: Abusing the Weakness of her Sex and Age, to report that confidently, which her proneness to think our Lady might extraordinarily love her, made her easily believe. Wise Gentlemen, who have been present at their Exorcising of Spirits, have observed plain Arguments of Intelligence between the Parties, as in the Actors of an Interlude; though that this should be always so, were hard to avouch: the multitude of Indenominati (whereof most are Women) being so huge in *Italy* (even as of

Witches

Witches in *Savoy*, of which, some are daily cured in how, by their Exorcisms; but for one that is holpen, almost twenty are either past their Curing, or otherwise (as in Counterfeits) unwilling to be cured. But in sum, the Falshoods in all these kinds, are grown so ordinary and palpable to themselves, that some of their better Prelates have removed, and withdrawn an Image of our Lady, upon the broaching of a Report, that it discovered it self for a Wonder-worker. So unsavoury is the Food of Fools to the Taste of wise Men; and such, is God's Curse upon all Forgery and Falshood, as in the End, to overthrow that, which chuseth it for his Foundation; as hath hapned already in some places, and may, in time, in other.

Of Germany.

Touching *Germany*, I have seen an old Estimate of it by such as favoured the Papacy, that in the beginning of the Empire of *Ferdinand*, there was not past one twelfth part remaining Catholick, which now, in my Understanding, must needs be otherwise; For comprehending in it *Bohemia*, with its Appurtenances, I should think, that near a sixth part were devoted that way, their number being increased, and perhaps doubled since that time, by the Seduliy of many of the Prelates, and one other great Prince, the Duke of *Bavaria*; who using the Advantage of the *Interim*, on their part, have forced those Protestants which were in

their States, to quit either Religion, or Goods, or Country. The ſame hath been attempted by the Arch-Dukes of Auſtria, and in ſome places, as in their Country of *Tiroll*, effected; but in Auſtria it ſelf, not ſo; wherein the number of Proteſtants exceeds, and is fearful to their Oppoſites; though the Exerciſe of the Reformed Religion, is there no where allowed, and in ſome chief Cities, as Vienna, wholly reſtrained: But the moſt part of the Country-people are of it; ſo are half the Nobility. The Duke of Cleves, a third Prince affected the ſame way, hath ſhewed himſelf a little more moderate than ſome other, ſo adviſed by Neighbourhood. The Free Cities, which are of very great number and ſtrength, have all, ſave ſome very few, enfreed themſelves from the Pope, either in whole, or in their greater part. And thus ſtands the State of the Empire for that Point; containing in it a very huge Circuit of Territory, full of mighty Princes, and well fortified Cities: That if it were more ſtrictly united under one Monarch, and not ſo rent into Factions, with diverſity of Religions, breeding endleſs Jealouſies, Heart-burnings and Hatreds, it needed no other help to affront the great *Turk*, and to repulſe all his Forces, to the Security of Chriſtendom.

But in this ſo unequal proportion of Adherents to the Papacy, two things there are, which give them hope of better, if proſperous Succeſs ſhall ſecond their well contrived Projects.

jects. The one is, the creating of the Emperors always of their Party; whereof they assure themselves by these Considerations: First, there is no House in *Germany* at this day, of such greatness, as is requisite to withstand the *Turk* in his Encroachments, the House of Austria set aside; who, by their Alliance, or rather, meer Entireness with *Spain*, and by sundry Elective Kingdoms, which run necessarily upon them, shall be always able to make Head against any Power in the World; and by their own State confining so immediately with the *Turks*, shall be necessarily inforced, laying other Thoughts aside, to employ the utmost Drop of their Blood, to keep off. Next, whensoever the matter groweth to Election of a new Emperor, they shall always have the Casting Voice with them, or rather, in them; having entangled the States of Bohemia in such Bonds and Promises (besides, there is no other to make good Choice of) that they account of this Kingdom, as of a State half Hereditary. And lastly, their late Policy, now strengthened by Usage, of declaring a King of Romans in the Emperor's Life-time, whilst his Presence and Power may govern the Action, assures them, that it shall always pass with them roundly and quietly. The other Ground of their Hope, is the Division of the Protestants into their Factions of Lutherans and Calvinists, as they style them; wherein the Ministers on each side have so bestirred themselves, that the

Coal, which a wise Man, with a little Moisture of his Mouth, would soon have quenched; they, with the Wind of theirs, have contrariwise so inflamed, that it threatneth a great Ruin and Calamity of both sides. And though the Princes and Heads of the weaker side in those parts, both Palatsgrave and Lantsgrave, have with great Judgment and Wisdom, to asslake those Flames, imposed Silence in that Point to the Ministers of their Party, hoping the Charity and Discretion of the other sort would have done the like; yet falls it out otherwise, both the *Lutheran* Preachers rage as bitterly against them in their Pulpits as ever, and their Princes and People have them in as great detestation; not forbearing to profess openly, they will return to the Papacy, rather than ever admit that Sacramentary and Predestinary Pestilence: for these two Points are the Ground of the Quarrel, and the latter more scandalous at this day, than the former. And some one of their Princes, namely, the Administrator of *Saxony*, is strongly mis-doubted to practise with the Emperor, for joyning the *Catholick* and the *Lutheran* Forces in one, and by War, to root out, and extinguish the *Calvinists*; the plausiblest Motion to the Emperor, that could ever happen. Neither is there any great doubt, but if any Stay or Agreement could be taken with the *Turk*, all *Germany* were in danger to be in an Uproar within it self, by Intestine Dissention. Howbeit, all the

Lutherans

Lutherans are not carried with this ſtern Humour, but they only which are called the *Lutherani rigidi*: The greater part, perhaps, which are the *Molles Lutherani*, are quiet enough; neither account otherwiſe of *Calviniſts*, than of erring Brethren; whom the *Rigidi* have (as is ſaid) partly threatned to excommunicate, as Schiſmaticks and Hereticks. To this lamentable Extremity hath the headineſs of their Miniſters on both ſides, brought it; while in the peremptorineſs of their poor Learning, they cannot endure any ſuppoſed Error in their Brethren, whereof themſelves, even the beſt of them perhaps, if they were ſifted, would be found to be full enough; (ſuch take I to be the Condition of all Men in this World;) and in their Ignorance of all Actions, ſave of their Schools and Books, make more account of ſome empty, ill-ſhaped Syllogiſm, than of the Peace of the Church, and Happineſs of the World: The End whereof will be, that their Enemies ſhall laugh, when themſelves ſhall have cauſe to weep; unleſs the Graciouſneſs of God ſtir up ſome worthy Princes of Renown and Reputation, with both the Sides, to interpoſe their Wiſdom, Induſtry and Authority, for the uniting theſe Factions; or, at leaſtwiſe, for reconciling and compoſing thoſe Differences, in ſome tolerable ſort: A Work of immortal Fame and Deſert, and worthy of none but them, of whom this wicked baſe World is not worthy. But hereof I ſhall have occaſion to

ſpeak in its due place. For this place it ſuffi-ceth, that theſe intrinſecal Quarrels are that which maketh their common Enemies hold up their Heads; which quickneth their Hopes, to ſee the Blades of theſe Reformers drawn one againſt another; that themſelves being called in to the beating down of the one part, may afterward, in good time, aſſail alſo the other; in the mean Seaſon, planting in all places their Colleges of Jeſuits, as the only corroſive Medicine, to fret out their Adverſaries. Now on the other Party, the Hopes are alſo not few; beſides their over-topping them ſo much in Multitude and Power. Firſt, The *German*, bearing a natural ſtiff Hate to the *Italian*, for his winding and ſubtil Wit, which deſpiſeth, and would ranſack him, but that he oppoſeth a proud Stoutneſs, and intractible Obſtinacy; which ſerving always as a Wall of Defence to Simplicity, will hardly, what tampering ſoever the Princes make, be brought ever in heart to re-affect the Papacy, whoſe Sleights and Devices they are throughly acquainted with, and have in more deteſtation, than any Nation whatſoever. And for their own inward Diſſentions, it is to be hoped, that though no Courſe were taken to compound them, yet never will they be ſo mad, as to deſide them by a general open War on both ſides; having Turk, Pope and Emperor, to joyn them in Friendſhip. For although the Contentions of Brethren be bitteręſt, yet a common ſtrong Enemy always

makes

makes them Friends again. And as for the Administrator so much suspected, who proles, as some say, in these Practices for his own Greatness, his Authority is but short, and to expire within three Years. Then for the having of an Emperor of some more indifferent Family, though their desire be in that point, of all other, greatest, yet their hope, I suppose, is least; And that which is, seems to be grounded upon the Elector of Colen; either if the old Elector *Gebardus Truchesius* should live so long, whom in that case, they might by force restore to his place, from which he stands now by force ejected, yet retains his Claim still, and Style of Elector; or if some other of that See might be induced to follow the Steps of two of their Antecessors, who have turned Protestants; (of which Course that place will be always in danger, by reason of such Vicinity, and intermixing of their State with Protestant Princes, besides that in *Colen* it self, the Religion hath already Footing;) or at leastwise, might be drawn to that civil Indifferency, as, in regard of preserving their Freedom of Election, to change once in an Age that Family of Austria, wherein the Empire having continued these seven Descents, may in time be established, as by Prescription. And lastly, for the Jesuits; Their great Patron and Planter, the old Duke of Bavaria, having now, as is said, retired himself into their College, and resigned his State to his Son *Maximilian*; who, it is thought, doth dis-

favour them as much as his Father doted on them: This, and other such Changes, may give stay to their Proceedings. But to leave these hopeful Speculations on both sides, and to take Matters in Terms they stand now, and may so continue; the benefit which the Papacy may expect from the Empire, is rather to keep Matters in that stay they are, than any way to restore it, where it hath been dispossessed. For although these *Turkish* Wars should cease, which is not unlikely, considering the calm Nature of both the Emperors, who take more delight in Chambers, than in Fields; yet shall our Christian Emperor be inforced still, in fortifying and maintaining Garrison all along his Frontiers, confining sundry hundred long Leagues with the *Turk*, so to exhaust his own Treasure, and employ his People, as that he will not be able to do elsewhere any extraordinary matter, without help extraordinary, which is never too ready: And Time, which may produce many Accidents in his favour, may also produce in his disfavour as many; and so many more, as the Ground out of which, in those parts, they may grow, is manifoldly larger against him, than for him.

Of the Low Countries.

Now for the Low Countries, the Papacy hath two Thirds with it; and of the Swissers, and Grisons, two Thirds against it: Of the Swissers also, the Protestants are lightly the wealthier,

wealthier, and the Papists the more War-like. Which may suffice for those Parts.

Of France.

Of France, how much the better it is known unto us at home, so much the less shall I need to speak much in this place. Neither is it very easie to proportion the Parties, by reason they of the Religion are so scattered in all places. Yet in Poictou, they have almost all; in Gascoigne, an half; in Languedoc, Dauphine, and other West-maritine Provinces, a reasonable strong part; as likewise in sundry Mediterrane, of which, Orleans the chief. But whatsoever be the proportion of their number to their Opposites, which is manifoldly inferiour, not one to twenty; their Strength is such, as the Wars have witnessed; and especially, that at this day, after such massacring them, so general a Rising of the whole Realm against them, by the utmost Extremity of Fire and Sword, to exterminate them; they are esteemed to be stronger than at any time heretofore: In sum, so strong, that neither have their Adversaries, I trow, any great hope, and themselves no fear to be born down by War. That the Practices of Peace by Partiality and Injustice in their Suits litigious (which hath already sorely bitten and afflicted their Estates, by depriving them of place of Office and Honour in the Realm, by confining the Exercise of their Religion into Chambers, or remote Corners) did not impo-

verish,

veriſh, abaſe and diſ-hearten their Party, and ſo withdraw thoſe from them, which would otherwiſe ſtick to them: This is that which they have miſ-doubted, and which, by the Edict now paſſed and verified, they have ſought to remedy. But looking a little more attentively into this Party, I find, that as Conſcience, in what Religion ſoever, doth even in the Miſts of Error, breed an Honeſtneſs of Mind, and Integrity of Life and Actions, in whom it ſetleth; (of ſo divine and pure Vertue is the Love of the Creator, which is the Ground of all that merit the Name of Religious;) ſo alſo, that in them which affect the greateſt Singleneſs, and in a manner, a very careleſs Simplicity in their Religion, as contenting themſelves with the Poſſeſſion of the rich Treaſure of Truth; and for the preſerving of it, or themſelves, recommending thoſe Cares to God only; yet Tract of Affliction, much Miſery, often Over-reaching by Subtilty of Adverſaries, doth finally purge out thoſe groſs-witted Humours, and engender a very curious and advantageous Warineſs in all their Proceedings; having learned by Experience the Wiſdom of that Aphoriſm, that a ſmall Error in the Foundation and Beginning of all things, doth prove, in the Proceeding and End of them, a great Miſchief: As hath fallen out in theſe Men; who do as far here out-go their Oppoſites in all Civil Policies, as in other places they of their Religion are lightly outgone by them; which, next unto Divine Bleſſing,

sing, which accompanieth good Causes, where Wickedness, or wilful Witlessness doth not bar against it, I account the chief Reason of their present Strength and Assurance. By their Providence in their Capitulations, by their Resoluteness in their Executions, by their Industry and Dexterity in all Occasions presented, they have possessed themselves of an exceeding great number of strong Towns and Places: There is scant any Office or Estate can fall void, but they lay in, by all means, to get into it. They have their Synods for their Church-Affairs, their Conventions and Councils for their Civil: Their People are warlike, and so will they continue them: Their only Want is, of a Prince of the Blood, to grace them: For as for Leaders, a matter of so main importance, they are still above their Adversaries; having, besides those three of principal and known Name, sundry other in Gascoigny, of less Place and Degree, but in Skill and Proweſs, not inferiour to the best. In fine, They have learned the Wisdom of *Spes sibi quisque*, and μέμνησο ἀπιστεῖν; the contrary whereof before, brought them so near to their Ruin. But now, touching the Weakness of them of the *Roman* Religion, in comparison of that Strength which their Multitude should promise, much more might be said. First, One great part of them are in heart of the Reformed Religion, though for worldly Respects they hold in with the other; which also will begin to disclose themselves daily, those things being

being now ſetled in reaſonable good ſort, which have hitherto been but in motion. Secondly, They are not all Papiſts, that hold with the Maſs: But the Catholicks are here divided into as different Opinions, and in as principal Matters of their Religion, as they eſteem them, as the Proteſtants in any place that ever I heard of; although their Diſcretion and Moderation is ſuch, as not to interrupt the common Concord with private Opinionativeneſs. The Ground of which Diſagreement in Opinion (as I take it) is the ancient Diverſity between the Roman Church, and the Gallicane; which, as in many of their Ceremonies, it differs much from the *Roman*; (as to omit ſundry other in the Prieſts Actions at Maſs, and in their walking Hymns at ſolemn Mattins and Veſpers;) and in ſome of them, rather runs with the Uſage of the Greek Church (as in their Holy Bread on Sundays, for them that do not Communicate) ſo alſo in the very Head Point of their Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy, it holdeth the General Council to be above the Pope: Which Opinion is, at this day, very current and ſtrong, even among ſuch Catholicks as favour the Papacy. Which I reckon for the firſt Difference, touching the State of their Church: Which calleth into queſtion, in whom the very Soveraignty and Supremacy thereof is placed. Another ſort are there, which hold their Church for the true Church (although they acknowledge ſundry Errors and Abuſes of leſs importance, both in Doctrine

ctrine and Practice:) But for the Pope, they hold resolutely, that he is that Antichrist, which sitting in the Temple, that is, in the true Church of God (for even by his very being Antichrist, some prove they are the true Church) doth advance himself above God; as they think apparent, by dispensing with the Law of God; by merchandizing of Souls in his Purgatory-Pardons, releasing them in another World, whom Divine Sentence hath bound; as also by his Indulgences for Sins in this World; and not least of all, by his arrogating the not Possibility of Erring; being a sacred Property peculiar unto God, and not communicated, but only at times, to his extraordinary Prophets; as all Churches in the World, besides the *Roman*, acknowledge. This Sect spreads far; and, as themselves will say, of the learned sort, three parts of four consent in this Opinion. And they which are most devoted to the Pope, and in that respect, do hate this Crew above all other, confess, that the Lawyers are greatly infected with it: in which regard, they also term these, as in way of disgrace, the Parliament Catholicks. These Opinions, thus prevailing amongst the Catholicks of *France*, it is not to be marvelled, that the Realm was so ready upon the Popes refusal, to re-bless the King upon his sudden Re conversion, to withdraw themselves utterly from the obedience of his See, and to erect a new Patriarch over all the *French* Church, the now Archbishop of Bruges; who was ready to accept it:

it: and but that the Pope in fear thereof, upon a ſecond Deliberation did haſten his Benediction, it had been effected to his utter Diſgrace and Decay, as the very Proffer and Probability of it, will always hold him in Awe, and in good temper of Carriage, towards this wavering Kingdom, and content to bear indifferent ſway with them, in any thing. As on the contrary ſide, his great doubt of the *French* Unſoundneſs to him at the Heart, will cauſe him the leſs to favour any of their Footings in *Italy*. Now theſe Men, though they diſlike alſo of the Reformed Religion, as having brought in an extream Innovation of all things, inſtead of a moderate Reformation, of what was juſtly blameable, yet will carry themſelves always of likelihood in an indifferent neutrality, rather than by extinguiſhing the one extream, to over-ſtrengthen the other. A third part of this ſide we may make the Papiſts; who as much as they diſlike the Attempts of the Proteſtants, in alteration of Religion; ſo much, and more, do they hate thoſe miſchievous Courſes taken againſt them, by their Adverſaries; which have threatned ſo near a ruine to the whole State of the Kingdom, that it may ſeem half a Miracle, that it hath ever recovered, being ſo long a time at the very Point, either of ſhivering in Pieces, (as hath hapned heretofore, to other Countries in like Caſe) or for rendring it ſelf into the ſervitude of the hateful Name of their Neighbors. This part having by Experience learned the Wiſdom to know, that the Quarrel of Religion,

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is but the Cloak of Ambition for the great ones at this day; that many traiterous Intents pass under Catholick Pretences; that the Protestant will be always a sure Enemy to the *Spaniards*, and to all his Favourites, Partizans and Pensionaries; that whilst he may be suffered to enjoy Liberty of Conscience, without any disabling, or disgrace in the State, he will be, in all Occasions, ready to serve the King to his utmost, and forward by Deserts, to maintain his Favour; that it is not so easie a matter to extirpate them, as some think, having taken so deep Root in the Realm as they have, besides the Favour of great Princes, their Neighbours abroad, who are engaged and embarked in the very same Cause; and that although it were to be wished, for the Happiness of the Kingdom, which, during this Diversity and Dissention in Religion, shall breed greater Security to their Neighbours, than to themselves, that if it were possible, some Course were taken for a final Reuniting of all in one Profession: Yet this being not to be hoped for, in this Exaspiration of Minds on both sides, must be commended to Time, which works out many things; to Occasion, which effects even Wonders on a sudden; and finally, to some general good Way, to be undertaken by the joint Consents of wise and worthy Princes, for effecting like Unity over all *Christendom*, if it may be. In these Considerations, this part, which, with its Appurtenances is now the greatest, will never advise

vise the King to become Head of a Party again, so long as he may be absolute Commander of the Whole; having found that siding Course in such strength of both part to be a safe Ground, and ominous to them that take it. To these may be annexed those Moral Men, as they call them, who think not these diversities of Opinions of any such moment, as that they ought to disjoyn them, who in the Love of God, in the Belief of the fundamental Articles of Christian Faith, in Integrity of Life, and Honesty of Conversation (which are the greatest Bonds) remain united; much less, that they ought to engage Men's Minds so far, as to cause them to take Arms to decide the Quarrel; which are not those Instruments wherewith either Error should be razed, or Truth proved, or Religion planted. And finally, To this Party may be added, all those who affect a quiet World, and Peace, above glorious Troubles. Which is the desire of those lightly, who in a middle degree of Condition, possess also a moderate temper of Affections; which is ordinarily the greatest part, in all well ordered Commonwealths; and withal, the safest, and firmest to the State. None of those will be easily drawn to enter into any violent Course against those of the Religion, so long as they have the Discretion, void of Jealousie to provoke them. The last part is, indeed, of their vowed and sworn Enemies, the Leaguers and Zelots, as some name them; once the greatest, and most favoured part of

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the Realm; at this day, not so; their plausible Pretences being now dismasked, and the distastefull Success of their disordered Actions, which have brought things to the very Counterpoint of that they aimed, and left nothing but a Memory of much Trouble and Misery, of the wasting of the People, the sacking of Cities, the harrowing and desolating of the Country, together with the imminent danger of the utter Overthrow of the Realm for ever; making them hateful and despised in those very same Minds, wherein they were erst whiles enshrined with all Devotion: Which Reasons have so abated also the haughtiness of their hopeless Heads, who lately breathed nothing but Crowns and Scepters, but Glory to their Followers, but Vengeance to their Enemies, that now they are content to range with their Fellows, and have turned their Song of Soveraignty into a more peaceable and calm Tune of *Nec veterum memini lætor ve malorum.* Howbeit the right Zelez, Men of the baseſt sort lightly, and possessed with Friars, who fill them with very Furies against the Religion, are as malicious and rageful against the Protestants as ever; and thirst after nothing so much, as to embrue themselves once again in their Blood; they stick not to profess, and indeed would, had they Heads and Opportunities to accomplish. The number of these is exceeding great and desperate; but impuissant, base and broken. With these joyn in Heart, in a manner,

all the Clergy; who count the Religion and Reformation their hane, and the very Calamity of their estate forever. A great error among other, as was observed by the worthy Chancellor, *Monsieur de l'Hospital*, in the Plots and Proceedings of the first Protestants of *France*, to alienate so repeated, and so potent a part of the Realm, by leaving them no hope of any tolerable condition under their reformed Estate; whom, by following the wiser courses of their moderate Neighbours, they might have gained to them, in greatest part, as others did.

Now this part, which are the only assured Enemies of the Protestants, and of whom they may make account, that they will not fail them at a need, doth come short of them perhaps in strength, though in multitude far exceed them. Wherein this is also not to be left unconsidered, that as in the Body of Man, the Humours draw ill to the Sore: So in a State, all evil affected and discontented, do associate themselves ordinarily to the part grieved and persecuted.

This take I to be the present Estate of the Actions in *France*, for matter of Religion: submitting my Opinion, as in all other things, to be censured and reformed by whosoever, with more experience and deeper judgment, shall have waded in, and weighed these Actions and Considerations. But to make my far reach of Conjecture for the time to come, that will I not be so fawcy, as to do in *French* Affairs; whose Mines are so full of Quick-Silver, that their nimble Wits would take

take it perhaps in dudgen, that any should imagine they would plod on in any one Tenour, with that dull constancy, which their heavier metall'd Neighbours do use; being able in freshest Experience to boast, that their lightness of Spirit, and mutability of Resolutions, hath suddenly recovered them from those terms of Extremity, which in the hands of any constant Nation of the World, had been a very long Cure, if not Desperate and Cureless. But verily this Diversity and Dissention in Religion, is still a very great Weakness and Disease in their State, and such as will be always a matter of Jealousie among themselves, of assurance for their Neighbours, of joy to their Enemies.

Of Lorain *and* Savoy.

For Lorain and Saver, with the Italiesi who confine on *Savoy*, they run wholly with the stream of the Papacy; though in both Parts there are store of Protestants, and that of Men of the better sort, but without any publick Exercise of their Religion, save only in some few out-skirts of *Savoy* near *Berna* and *Geneva*. What Madam the Kings Sister may affect in *Lorain*, or what contrariwise her self may suffer, time only by Tryal is able to ascertain.

An Estimate of the strength of the Papacy.

These particulars thus admitted, it will be no great difficulty to make some comparative Esti-

main of the whole strength of the Papacy, in respect of the Protestants, being the Part now only on Foot against them. For as for the Greek Church, the case is evident, that though in number it be granted that they exceed any other; yet are they so oppressed under Turkish Tyranny, or removed so far off, as the *Muscovites*, and some others, that they come not into any accompt in the survey of the strength which we now speak of.

But for the Western or *Latin* Church, in the general Division into the part Reformed, and part Papal, admitting them in number and circuit of Territory to be near equal (as considering the huge compass of *Germany*, and that Empire possessed so wholly in a manner by the Protestants, I can make no other proportion) in other points we shall find great Odds and Advantages for strength in different kinds in both sides. First, the Kingdoms and States of the *Romish* part, lying nearer the Sun, are not only in Riches, both Natural of their Soyl, and Accessory by greater opportunity to Traffick to all Parts of the World, by manifold Degrees, Superior to their Northern Adversaries, but also in sineness and subtilty of Wit; which having that other instrument of Wealth to work by, doth far pass in all ordinary and orderly Actions, that robustness of Body, and puissance of Person, which is the only fruit of strength that those colder climes do yield. Though sometimes extraordinarily it is known, and to be granted, that those Septentrio-

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nal Inundations, by their very Violence and Multitude, as in People more Generative, have so wildly deluviated over all the South; that as a raging Tempest, they have ravaged and ruined those Powerful and Flourishing Empires in the suddenness of an instant, which had been many Ages in rearing and spreading over the World.

But these have been no other than as torrents or brooks of passage; soon up, soon down, soon come, soon over-gone. Neither have the Northern People ever yet for all their Multitude and Strength had the Honour of being Founders or Possessors of any great Empire, so unequal is the combate between Force and Wit, in all matters of durable and grounded Establishment. Another point of great advantage in the self-same side is the Uniting of their Forces into fewer Heads and Mightier; which Uniting is a very redoubling of strength in all things. They have on their part first and principally the Pope himself, seated Royally and Pontifically in the Midst and Chiefest, regarding the rich Sun in his glorious Rising, and the Moon in the height of her beautiful Walk: on his Left hand, the Emperor, the Ancient Remains of Honour; on his Right, the King of *Spain*, the new Planet of the West; at his Back, the *French* King, the eldest Son of the Church; all mighty Monarchs, opposed as brazen Walls against his Enemies on all sides; round about him are the lesser Princes and States of *Italy*, as matter rather of Solace and Honour than otherwise, and to exercise himself upon, as

his Humors of favour or displeasure than advice. Whereas on the contrary part, the only puissant Prince in any Comparison with those other is Her Majesty of England, whose State is yet so divided from all the rest of the World, that it is the less fit in that Respect, for the rest to make Head at. Again, the other have the Pope, as a common Father, Adviser, and Conductor to them all; to reconcile their Enmities, to appease their Displeasures, to decide their Differences, and finally to Unite their endeavours in one Course, to instance, to press them, to remove stops, to add encouragement, by aid from himself, and above all things to draw their Religion by consent of Councils, to an unity or likeness and Conformity in all Places; a principal Pillar of stay to the unlearned Multitude, of Glory to themselves, of upbraiding to their Enemies. Whereas on the contrary side, the Protestants are as severed or rather scattered Troops, each drawing a divers way; without any means to pacifie their Quarrels, to take up their Controversies, without any bond to knit them, their Forces and Courses in one. No Prince with any Pre-eminence of Jurisdiction above the rest; no Patriarch one or more to have a common superintendence or care of their Churches, to be Solicitors of Princes for Correspondence and Unity: no ordinary way to Assemble a General Council of their part, the only hope remaining ever to assuage their Contentions, and the only desire of the Wisest and best Minds among them. Every Church almost of

theirs

theirs hath his several Form and Frame and Government, his several Liturgy and Fashion of Service and Faith, some several Opinion from the rest; which though they be in themselves matters of no great Moment, being no differences essential or in any capital Point, yea and some of them might serve perhaps to the Churches great benefit; yet have they been, are, and will be, so long as they continue in their present Terms, causes of Dislikes, of Jealousies, of Quarrels and Dangers. In sum, what Unity soever is among them proceeds only from the meer force and Virtue of Verity, which all parts seek for; which though it be incomparably the Best and Blessedest, and that which alone doth unite the Soul with God, yet for order in the World, for quiet in the Church for avoiding of Scandal, for Propagating and Encrease, of what great Power that other Unity is which proceeds from Authority, the Papacy, which stands by it alone, may teach us: In fine, both concurring attain the praise of Perfection. These then are the Advantages of the Part of the Papacy. But now one Disadvantage (across the Nature of all things) impeacheth and deiecteth all other their Forces; and that is, their Vicinity with their grand Enemy the *Turk*; who by Land and Sea presseth hard upon them, both Emperor, and Pope, and Monarch of *Spain*, and driveth them oftentimes to such Exigents and Devices, that *Spain* hath no other shift to clear himself, than by diverting him upon his own dear Brethren of *Austria*, and causing him to fall

foul upon his Friend the Emperor; wherein he is driven yet to a twofold Charge, both in bribing the Bashaes to draw their Lord to *Germany*, and in supplying them the Emperor with Money to withstand him. The Emperor on the other side calleth for Aid of the Protestants, without which the whole Empire were in danger of Wracking. The Pope, who above all other, is in deepest Fear, though not in the nearest; knowing that the final Mark, which the *Turk* shoots at, is *Italy*, as thinking that to be the Lover now only remaining to be set up for the Accomplishment and Perfection of his Empire; and that his Wars with the Emperor, are but to open that Land-passage, forasmuch as by Sea he hath ever proved the Weaker; bestirs himself on all hands, in the best sort he is able, both in sending such Aid as his Proportion will bear, and especially in solliciting the Princes of his Part, to enter into a common League and War against him; giving overture of like desire for the Protestants also. But the Protestants would know what security of quiet they shall have from himself first, their near and stern and unappeasable Enemy; before they wast out themselves in giving Aid unto him; against a common Enemy indeed, but one who is farthest of from them of all other, who as now is desirous enough to entertain their Friendship, and who at the worst Hand, carrieth no more evil hatred against them and their Profession, neither condemneth their Religion, more than the Pope their Fellow-Christian.

Then

Then for his Catholicks the *Polacker*, they clearly slip Collar, both for the Natural hatred which as Neighbours, they bear the *Germans*, and for that they are in Peace and Amity with the *Turk*, paying him a certain Tribute; and although his near Neighbours also, yet not in his way, which is not to the North, but to the East and South Parts, and mainly and plainly to the Conquests of *Italy*. The *Venetians* are content also to live rather as Free Tributaries to the *Turk*, as they now are, than as Slaves to *Spain*, who, in joyning with them heretofore in Leagues against the *Turk*, with Pope *Pius Quintus*, did contrary to his Oath and Bond forsake them, and suffer them to be beaten, being left alone to the *Turks* fury; and all this, to the end that having their State utterly maimed and broken by the *Turk*, they might be constrained wholly to cast themselves, their Signory and City, into the Arms and Embracements of *Spain* for safe-guard. With this Unchristian Treachery have they charged him heretofore; though now all being quiet, they are content to put an unacceptable motion to silence, by demand of unpossible Conditions of security.

Then for *France* it is far off, and looks that the nearer be, as they ought, most forward first, and requires also with reason some breathing time to releive himself, after his weariness by his late Pangs.

Lastly, *Spain* hath so much to do with *England* and the revolted Provinces, that he thinks the time gained that the *Turk* forbears him. So

that

that the end is, the whole burden must rest on the Emperor, with that small help which *Italy* and some other yield him. And were it not his good Fortune, or rather Gods good Providence, that the very same Plagues, which have ruined the Glory and Grace of Christendom, should now also infect the grand Enemy thereof, namely, Effeminatenesse and Avarice; whereof the one is the Corruption of all sound Deliberations, and the other the Quailer of all manly Executions; which prevailing in his State as they do at this Day, give hope that his Tyranny draweth towards his Period; and for this present provide so, that a weak Defendant may shift better, having but a cowardly assailant; the matter would have grown to that extremity by this time, as would have called the King of *Spain* with all his Forces, to some more honourable Enterprizes than he hath hitherto undertaken. And this is the bridle which holds in the Papacy with all his followers, from any universal proceeding by force against the Protestants; who herein are greatly advantaged above them, in that either their Opposites lie between them and the *Turk*, or their Countries casting so much as they do towards the North, are out of his way, and no part of his present aim. But these Advantages and Disadvantages of the Papacy equally weighed, I suppose this Disadvantage more mischievous for the present, as proceeding from outward force in the hands of an Enemy; and the other Advantages more stable for continuance, as spring-

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ing from the inward strength of their own Wealth and Order.

What Unity Christendom may hope for.

This then being so, and that all things considered, there falls out if not such an Indifferency and Equality, yet at leastwise such a proportion of Strength on both sides, as bereaveth the other of hope ever by War to subdue them, (seeing as the Proverb is, a dead Woman will have four to carry her forth, much less will able Men be beaten easily out of their homes) and since there is no appearance of ever forcing an Unity, unless Time which eats all things, should bring in great Alterations: It remaineth to be considered, what other kind of Unity poor Christendom may hope for, whether Unity of Verity, or Unity of Charity, or Unity of Perswasion, or Unity of Authority, or Unity of Necessity, there being so many other kinds and causes of Concord. A kind of Men there is, whom a Man shall meet with at all Countries, not many in number, but shades of them, of singular Learning and Piety; whose Godly Longings to see Christendom re-united in the Love of the Author of their Name above all things, and next in brotherly Correspondence and Amity, as beseemeth those who under the chief Service of one Lord, in Profession of one Ground and Foundation of Faith, do expect the same final reward of Glory, which proceeding from the Father and Prince of Peace, rejecteth all Spirits of Contention from attaining

ing it; have entred into a meditation whether it were not possible, that by the Travail and Mediation of some calmer Minds, than at this Day do usually write or deal on either side, these flames of Controversies might be extinguished or aslaked, and some godly or tolerable Peace re-established in the Church again. The earnestness of their vertuous desires to see it so, hath bred in them an Opinion of possibility that it might be wrought; considering first that besides infinite other Points not controversed, there is an Agreement in the general Foundation of Religion, in those Articles which the Twelve Apostles delivered unto the Church, perhaps not as an Abridgment only of the Faith, but as a Touch-stone also of the Faithful for ever; that whilst there was an entire consent in them, no dissent in other Opinions only should break Peace and Communion; And secondly, considering also there are in great Multitude on both sides (for so are they undoubtedly) Men vertuous and Learned, fraught with the Love of God and of his Truth above all things, Men of memorable Integrity of Heart and Affections, whose Lives are not dear unto them, much less their Labours, to be spent for the good of Gods Church and People; by whose joint endeavours and single and sincere Proceedings in common Conference for search of Truth, that honourable Unity of Verity might be established. But if the multitude of crooked and side Respects, which are the only Clouds that Eclipse the Truth,

Truth, from shining now brightly on the Face of the World, and the only Prickles that so encroward Mens Affections as not to consider the best, to cause that this chief Unity find small Acceptation, as is to be feared, at least wise that the endless and ill Fruits of these Contentions, which tend mainly to the encrease of Atheism within, of Mahometism abroad, which inobstinate the Jew, make the Faith of the Christian, taint the better Minds with Acerbity, and load the worse with Poison, which break so out into their Actions which themselves think Holiest, namely, the defence of Gods Truth, which each side Challengeth, that in thinking they offer up a pleasing Sacrifice to God, they give cause of wicked Joy unto his and their Enemy; that these woful Effects, with very Tediousness and Weariness may draw both parts in fine, to some tolerable Reconciliation, to some Unity of Charity, at least wise to some such as may be least to either's Prejudice. Let the one give over their worshipping of Images, their Adoring and Offering Supplications to Saints, their offensive Ceremonies, their Arbitrary Indulgences, their using of a Language not understood in their Devotions, all which themselves will confess not to be necessary, to be orders of the Church, and such as at pleasure he may dispense with; yea, Pope *Clemem* the *7th.* gave some hope to the *French* King, that he would not be stiff in things of this Quality, and that respect of time might justifie the Alteration; and some of the later

Popes

Popes, condescend to them of Bavaria the Cup in the Sacrament, hoping that would content them; which since, they or their Successors have again inhibited: On the other side, let the Protestants, such at least-wise as think to Purge out that Negative and Contradictory Humour, of thinking they are then Rightest, when they are unlikest the Papacy; then nearest to God, when farthest from *Rome*; let them look with the Eye of Charity upon them, as well as of Severity, and they shall find in them some excellent orders for Government, some singular helps for an encrease of Godliness and Devotion, for the conquering of Sin, for the perfecting of Virtue, and contrariwise in themselves, looking with more single and less indulgent Eye than they do, they shall find that there is no such Absolute no Unreprovable Perfection in their Doctrine and Reformation, as some Dreamers in the pleasing view of their own Actions do Fancy. Neither ought they to thing it strange, they should be so amiss in any thing, but rather a very Miracle, if they were not so in many. For if those Ancient Fathers and Sages of the Church, with greater helps, being nearer the times of Purity, with equal Industry, for spending their whole Lives with less cause of Insincerity, having nothing to seduce them, notwithstanding were not able in the Weakness and Blindness of Humane Nature in this World, to soar up so high always in the search of Truth, as to find out her mighty seat in the Height of the

Heavens;

Heavens; but sometimes took Errour dwelling nearer them, instead thereof; now less likely that our Age, more entangled with the World, farther removed from the usage of those faulteless Institutions, and so bitterly exasperated with mutual Controversies and Conflicts, should attain to that Excellency and Perfection of knowledge, which it may be, God hath removed from Mans reach in this World, to Humble and Encrease his longing Desire towards another World? And as the present time doth discover sundry Errors in the former, so no doubt will the future, in that which is now present. So that Ignorance and Errour, which seldom go severed, being no other than unseparable Companions of Man, so long as he continueth in this terrestrial Pilgrimage: it can be no blemish in them to revise their Doctrine, and so abate the rigour of certain speculative Opinions, especially touching the eternal Decrees of God, the quality of Man's Nature, the use of his Works; wherein some of their chief Authors have run to such an utter Opposition to the *Romish* Doctrine, as to have exceedingly scandalized all other Churches withal, yea, and many of their own to rest very ill satisfied. The seat of Truth is aloft of Vertue in the midst, both places of Honour; but neither Truth nor Vertue draw to an utter Extremity. And as in some points of Doctrine, so much more in their Practice; in order of Government, and Ecclesiastical degrees; in Solemnities

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and Statelineſs in the Service of God; in ſome exerciſes of Piety, Devotion and Humility, eſpecially in ſet Faſtings accompanied with due Contrition of Heart and Prayer; beſides, many other Circumſtances, they might eaſily without any offence of Conſcience at all, frame to draw ſomewhat nearer to their Oppoſites than now they are. Which yielded on both ſides a General and Indifferent Confeſſion and ſum of Faith; an Uniform Liturgy, or not repugnant, if diverſe, alike, or at leaſt-wiſe not incorreſpondent Form of Church-Government, to be made out of the Points which both agreed in, and to be eſtabliſhed ſo univerſally in all Chriſtian Dominions, that this all Chriſtians ſhould neceſſarily hold, this only their Divines in Pulpit ſhould Teach, and this their People in Churches ſhould Exerciſe; which doing, the Unity of Communion ſhould remain unviolated. For all other Queſtions, it ſhould be Lawful for each Man ſo to believe as he found cauſe, not Condemning other with ſuch Peremptorineſs as is the Guiſe of ſome Men of overweening Conceits, and the handling of all Controverſies for their final compounding, to be confined to the Schools, to Councils, and to the Learned Languages, which are the proper Places to try them, and fitteſt Tongues to treat them in.

Of Unity of Authority.

And all this to be done by some General Council, assembled and composed indifferently, out of both the sides; Men's Minds being before hand prepared and directed to this Issue and Conclusion. But now, if either the Obstinateness of the Pope's Ambition, or the Willfulness or Scrupulosity of any Opinionative Ministers, would oppose against, and impeach this Unity of Charity; then the Unity of Authority to be interposed to amend it. That is, the Princes of *Christendom* to press this Agreement, to constrain the Pope to content himself with that temporal State, which the Skill of his Ancestors hath got, and lese him: and for his Spiritual, to be such as the ancient Councils had limited: And for all other Gain-layers, to silence or punish them. Now for the Princes which joyfully consent to do this, How many, how weighty Motives do induce them? The Service of Christ, the Honour of Christian Religion, and the Peace of *Christendom*, the Strengthening of Christians, and the Repulsing and Overthrow of all Turks and Infidels. And these in general. In particular, the Assuring of their own Lives and Persons, which so many, under pretence of Religion, daily conspire against; the Quiet and secure enjoying of their rich States and Kingdoms; the transmitting of them to their Posterity, without Question, or Opposition; and lastly, the Delivery of their

miserable Subjects (which should be dear unto them as Children) from those extream Vexations of Spirit and Body, and those inestimable Calamities in their Estates and Conditions, wherewith these Dissentions in Religion, and Effects thereof do now afflict them. And this is in general, the sum of the Discourse of that kind of People; which doth shew them, as they are, for the most part, to be Protestants, though perhaps not running jump with their side in every thing; although many of the other part are carried also, with the same good Zeal and Affection, to the like Desire and Intention: But these are of the more moderate sort of the Catholicks, and not of their Clergy; and such lightly, as have but an indifferent Conceit of the Pope's Claim and Proceedings: Of which sort, among the wiser part of the Laity, there are very many. But now, in exacter Consideration of this Motion, there appear, for the effecting of it, sundry Difficulties so great, that they draw to be next Neighbours to so many Impossibilities; whereof I will mention only two of the chief. For as for the thing it self, I must confess for my own part, the greatest desire I have in the World, is to see *Christendom* reconciled in the Badge of their Profession (seeing Unity is consecrated to Verity, and both to God) and that without the Ruin and Subversion of either part; which cannot be done, but to the unexpressible Mischief and Misery on both sides, and with the utter enhazarding of both

Christendom

Chriſtendom and Chriſtianity: And think any kind of Peace were better than theſe Strifes, which did not prejudice that higher Peace between God and Mens Conſciences. Then for the Way they purpoſe, it ſeemeth, for the generality of it, there is no other now left, ſeeing the Oppoſition of Extreams is no way defeaſable, but by extinguiſhing the one, or drawing both to ſome temper and mildneſs of State. But in this Caſe, two things do clean diſ-hearten this Hope. The firſt is, the Untractableneſs of the Papacy to this Courſe, who in ſo many Conferences as they have had in this Age, have always ere they departed, very plainly diſcovered, that they came not with ſuch Intent, as to yield any thing for Peace, much leſs for Truths ſake; but only to aſſay, either by manifold Perſuaſion and Intreaty to reduce, or otherwiſe by Wit to entrap and diſgrace their Adverſaries: And if ſome one of them have ſhewed himſelf more flexible at any time, it hath been his utter Diſcredit with his own Party ever after. Which ſtern Proceeding of theirs, admitting the fundamental Poſitions, whereon the Papacy is built, is good and neceſſary. For if Divine Authority do concur with them in all their Ordinances, God's Spirit aſſiſt them in all their Decisions, all Poſſibility of Erring be exempted from their Pope and Church, what remains there, but only that they teach, we believe; they command, and the World obey? Indeed, in Humane Governments, where Reaſon is ſhut out, there

Tyranny thrusts in; but where God commands, to ask Reason, is Presumption; to oppose Reason, flat Rebellion. To this miserable Necessity have those Assertions tied them, which they have laid for their Foundation; miserable to themselves, and miserable to the whole World. For what can be more miserable to any ingenuous and good Mind, than to have entangled himself in such a Labyrinth of Perplexity and Mischief, as to have left no place of acknowledging his Error, without ruining his Estate; when as Error is only purged by due acknowledging, and doubled by denying it. And to what a miserable push have they driven the World, either in their pleading against them with such force of Evidence, or in their learning of them, and joyning with them, as to stop the Mouth of the one, and hang the Faith of the other on this unnatural Paradox, I and my Church cannot possibly err; and this must you take upon our own Words, to be true. For as for their conjectural Evidence out of the Scripture, there seems to be as much, or more, for the King of *Spain*'s not erring, as there is for the Pope's; it being said by the Wisest, *That the Heart of the King is in the Hands of God; a divine Sentence is in his Lips, and his Mouth shall not transgress in Judgment.*

But now, as by this Means they have debarred themselves from acknowledging, and consequently from controlling any Error in Faith and Doctrine; so on the other side, to reform any great Matter in practice, were to open the Eyes

Eyes and Mouths of all Men against them; who now, in the Obedience of their Blindness, stick fast unto them. Let them suspend from henceforward, the Worshiping of Images, the fleeing to the Patronage of Angels and Saints, by Vows and Prayers; besides the great Loss, which it would bring unto the Train, in daily Offerings to their Saints and Images, what a Jealousie would it breed in the Heads of their own, that they had led the World all this while on the blind side, and that other things, perhaps, were introduced for Gain, and corruptly contrived, as well as these. Then for their Adversaries, their own Saying is, Yield one thing to them, and yield all; sith all hangs upon the same Pin, and by the same String, that any one doth. So that it seemeth not to have been unwisely conceived by him, who said, That to perswade the Pope to any such Reformation, was to perswade him to yield up his Keys and Crown, and to return into the Order of his Predecessors, and other Patriarchs: Which to do, as yet he sheweth no Intention.

And although some one Pope should happen to be better affected, yet would it not prevail unto any great Proof; being sure, that his nearest, both Counsellors and Officers, his Cardinals and Courtiers, yea, his Church and whole State would oppose against him. Then to hope, that though the Pope and his See should withstand it, yet the Learned of his side might be induced, in other places, to accept, and to apply themselves

to some Treaty of Accord: I dare avouch, they know them not, which have that Conceit of them. For although it were, perhaps, not untruly said by a great Clerk of their own, that the Pope's not Erring was but an Opinion of Policy, and not of Theology; to give Stay to the Laity, not Stop to the Divines; of whom, in such infinite Controversies and Jarrings, about Interpretations of Texts, and Conclusions of Science, wherein many have spent a large part of their Lives, never any yet went, neither at this day doth go, to be resolved by the Pope; as knowing it to be true, which their own Law delivereth, That in Holiness, any old Woman; in Knowledge, many a Friar might out-go the Pope; but in Power and Authority, the whole World was under him: Yet at this day, they do so generally all cling unto him, and draw by his Line (as having no Hope, either of standing against their Opposites, but only by him; or of Unity among themselves, but only in him;) that touch him, and touch them. Yea, they think, at least wise, some of them, that rejected Name of Papist, to be as good a Name, and more necessary at this day, than that of Catholick; the one shewing their Unity only with the Body, and the other with the Head of the Church, which is now more needful. It remains, that Princes take the matter in hand, and constrain the Pope, and others, to yield to some such Accord: Indeed, this were an only right Way to effect it: For Reason is a good Orator, when

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it hath Force to back it. But where are these Princes? They dream of an old World, and of the Heroical Times, who imagine that Princes will break their Sleeps for such Purposes. If there were at this day a DAVID in *Spain*, a JOSIAS in *France*, an EZECHIAS in *Italy*, a CONSTANTINE in *Germany*, the matter were ended in very short time. But take them as they are, and as they are like to be; being brought up in the midst of their Factions and Flatteries, where they seldom hear Truth; and if a good Motion, by mischance, be set on foot by one part, it is sure to be streight crossed, through the watchful and industrious Envy of the other; the World may hold it self reasonably happy and content, if the Civil State be upheld in any tolerable Terms, and not think, that they should care greatly for reforming the Church, and much less for the uniting of the State Ecclesiastical; the Dissentions whereof have, and daily serve so many Mens Turns.

And although it is to be acknowledged, and thankfully commemorated, that this Age hath not been so utterly barren of good Princes, but that some have deserved to be enrolled among those Worthies, yet the Ambition and incroaching Humours of certain, and Want of Correspondence requisite in other, have stopped, perhaps, those honourable Thoughts and Designs, which might have else been employed for the universal Good of *Christendom*. In sum, There is small Hope remaining on this part, the World

having extinguished the Care of the publick Good, by an Over-take of their Private; and each projecting to pass his own Time smoothly over in Pleasure, and recommending Posterity to the Stars and Destiny. These Reasons, together with the long Continuance of this Division, whereby both Parts are formalized, and soured in their Oppositions; insomuch, that at this day, they are but very few, in comparison of former Times, that are gained either Way; do make me greatly despair of any Success by that Course. And so esteem of that Plot, as an honest-hearted Desire, but no probable Design; and as a Cabinet-discourse of speculative Consideration, which Practice in the World, and Experience, doth need to rectifie.

Of Necessity, pressing to Unity.

The next Point is, Whether Necessity, which over-rules all Frowardness, and commands all Sturdiness of Humours and Passions, may not press to some Unity; if the *Turk*, still growing, as hitherto he hath done, leave no Hope for *Christendom* to subsist, but in their inward Concord. It is true, that a Foreign Enemy is a Reconciler of Brethren; and that common Danger holds them together, so long as it lasteth, who else would flee asunder upon every light Occasion. But herein methinks it cometh first to be considered, whether the *Turk* be so fearful a Monarch, as is commonly conceived; especially, since his late huge Enlargement to-

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wards the East. That which most Men esteem in him the grand Cause of Error, seemeth to me a chief Argument of the contrary, at this present; and that is, the very hugeness of the Empires. For Empires are not then always at their strongest, when at their biggest; there being a certain due Proportion in all things, which they breaking that exceed, as well as they come short of; may be counted to be huge and vast, not great; since that is great properly, which is great in its Actions; which are as often impeached, by Unwieldiness in the Big, as by Weakness in the Little. But if to this be adjoyned, as it sometimes falls out, that there be but a little Soul to move this vast Body (which maketh some of the biggest Men to be neither the wisest nor valiantest;) and that is, that the Government, which is the Soul of a State, be scant and feeble; not able to embrace, nor to order so huge Affairs; then is there no other greater Presage of Ruin, than very Massiness it self; which every strong Push or Justle makes reel and totter, for want of that inward Strength, which were requisite to hold it steddy. And this take I to be the State of the *Turkish* Empire at this day: Which being a meer Tyranny, as aiming only at the Mightiness and Security of their great Lord, the sole absolute Commander, without any respect to the Benefit of the People under him, save only so far forth, as may serve to bear up his Greatness; and for that Cause, he, in his Jealousie and Distrust of his own,

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keeping His Territories half desolate, and uninhabited; his Subjects without Heads of Nobility to lead them, without Hearts to encourage them to seek Delivery; abasing them by all kind of Bestial Education, and oppressing them by all sorts of Extortion and Out-rage, giving the Lands where he conquereth, to his Soldiers, and Timariots; which, scattered over all parts of his ample Empire, are the only contented People, and only Strength, in effect, he hath; as being bound by their Tenures, to serve in his War, whithersoever he calls them, and without his Charge. This being his State, it is clear, that the Wildness and Lying waste of his Country, is to the great diminishing of his own Wealth and Revenue: which is less than some one of our Christian Princes at this day, though his Empire much larger than all theirs together: The unpopulousness, together with the baseness and feebleness of such as are, makes, that no one Country is Defence for it self, but must have the Concourse of many of the rest to assist it. And lastly, the huge Circuit of his Soyl and Confines, embracing, as is esteemed, eight thousand Miles of Land, and of Sea as many is Cause that his Timariots cannot assemble together but in very long time, wherein Opportunities are often lost, besides the tiring both of themselves and their Horses ere they arrive. And the Truth hereof is assured by fresh Experience, he having done no great matter in all this War of *Hungary*, though none to speak of, but *Germany*,

many, with some small help of *Italy*, have opposed against him. But if we farther consider the Effeminateness of the Education of their great Lords in these Times; a thing which they are drawn and constrained unto, even contrary oftentimes, to the Manliness of their own Natures; (and all to keep the Father from Jealousie of his own Son, whose Braveness of Mind, and Warlikeness, is still suspected:) And Use having soaked once into their Bones in Youth, doth for ever after loose the Sinews of their Manly Dispositions, and subject them to the Softeness and Baseness of Pleasures: Considering also the Avarice and Corruption, which reigns there; all Peaces and Wars, all Friendships and Enmities, all Favours and Wrongs, all Counsels and Informations, being grown to be saleable. If these be, as they are, the Signs of a diseased, and Prognosticates of a dying Monarchy, much more of a Tyranny; then surely, have we not now so great Cause to dread him, as to blame our selves, and our Wranglings, and Vility, who chuse thus, in practising, to exterminate each other, to trace out an unhonourable and fruitless Life; at the end, finding our selves in the very same, or worse Terms, than when we began; rather than establish first a firm Accord at home, to attempt, with united Love, Zeal and Forces, so just, so Christian, so honourable, so rich a War. And verily, if but our Princes confining upon him, though agreeing among themselves, for the most, in Religion, were not so

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strangely infected with Emulations, and Home-Ambitions, as to condescend to pay Tribute to the *Turk* in several; for so do they, as a Redemption each of their Peace (which yet hath no longer Assurance, than his Pleasure; which, with double as much under-hand Bribes and Presents, must be daily sweetned.) And which is yet worse, When his Lust comes to invade any one of them (as he doth for his very Exercise, and avoiding Tumults at home;) the rest to hold off from giving Succour to their Neighbours, for fear of drawing a Revenge upon themselves some other time. Which is the Case of the *Polanians* and *Venetians* at this present; who scarcely dare so much as pray against him in their Devotions, otherwise than in their Hearts; which, I warn, they do duly. Were it not, I say, that their private Ambitions, Fears and Mis-casts did drive them to make so abject and unchristian a Choice; rather than zealously and violently to joyn and pursue one certain Course, for the rooting of him, and his Tyranny out of this part of the World, it were not to be so much doubted, but the Fear now on this side, would soon turn to the other, seeing that one good Blow, to a Body so ill built, and full of Distempers, were able to put the whole in danger of Ruin and Shivering. These Reasons induce me not to think, that the Danger from the *Turk* should be so great, as to enforce the Christians to run mainly into an Accord: And though it should, yet, without other sounder working,

working, by perfect composing of all inward Discention, this would be but a civil Accord, and only for a Time; which, the Fear once past, would dissolve of it self, and the former Contentions revive as fresh as ever: For the Bond of common Fear is the strongest, indeed, of all other, but the shortest withal; which nothing, during the Danger, is able to break; and the Danger once passed, falls in sunder of its own unsoundness. Howbeit, if the *Turk* should set Foot in *Italy*, and abate the Pope's Strength, by possessing his State; then would I not doubt much, but that both himself would be content, and all other Princes forward, that some such Unity as is before spoken of, might be established. But that is a Case as unlikely in short time, as in Tract of Time not impossible to happen, if some manly stout *Turk* should succeed these womanish.

There remaineth then the Unity by Persuasion only, which both sides now seem to rest on; each practising, and hoping, in process of time, to eat out the Strength of the other, by his Industry, in drawing away, by Persuasion, his Followers and Adherents. Wherein the Protestant counteth his Advantage so much the greater, in that the Unity of Verity is it which, himself persuaded of, he persuadeth to others. And Truth being so infinite degrees stronger than Untruth; having God to bless it, Heaven and Earth, and all the Creatures of God to witness it; and even Falshood it self (which is always his own Cut-throat) by his Crossing and

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Contrariety, to yield Confession unto it; unless the Fault be exceedingly in the Handler and Pleader, must needs, in the End (maugre the Malice of all Enemies, and Craft of all Inventions) prevail, and have Victory; although the utter Abolishment of the Kingdom of Antichrist, they refer, with the Prophecy, to the Appearance of our Saviour in Judgment and Triumph, now shortly approaching. On the other side, the Papists hope, that their Persuasion, being seconded by so great Princes Authority, insinuated and farthered by so many collateral Aids, and Motives, and Practices; leaving nothing unassayed, which may prejudice, afflict, or annoy their Opposites; and providing, as they do, a perpetual Succession of Instruments, to be employed in each kind, over all parts of *Christendom*; they shall, in the End, tire, eat out, and utterly consume the Strength and Stomach of their unpolitick and divided Adversaries. In the number whereof, though they score up all Religions, especially Christian, that acknowledge not the Pope, and the threefold Plenitude of his Supernal, Terrestrial and Infernal Power; extending to Heaven, in canonizing Saints; to the lower parts of the World, in freeing from Purgatory; over the Earth, in being the universal Guide and Pastor of all Men; yet are they not affected to all their Opposites in like sort, speaking of such as with whom they live, and daily converse. For to omit the *Jew*, whom they mock with his Messias, so long

long in coming; as also the *Grecians*, whom they pity with their Patriarchs, under the *Turkish* Slavery; their Hatred is to the *Lutheran*, the Author of their Calamity; but Hatred and Fear both, of the *Calvinist* only; whom they account the only growing Enemy, and dangerous to their State. For as for the *Lutheran*, he was, long since, at his highest; and if he itch an Inch forward one way for an Ell, he loseth another, it is only by a kind of boisterous Force and Violence against the *Calvinist*; as in *Strasbourg* of late. The Reason whereof, besides the Absurdity of their Turquinary Chimera, hath, perhaps, been in part also, for that their Opinion took up its Seat in *Germany*; a stiff People, but an heavy; which cannot hold their own well, but gain little upon other Men: Whereas the other, falling upon a livelier Metal; of the *French* especially, who are always stirring and practising upon their Neighbours, and more vehement for the while, in whatsoever they affect; hath had a very huge Increase in latter Time, notwithstanding those Massacres which have been used, to extinguish them; and is still growing forward in all places where once it taketh; and over-topperth them now, from whose Root at first it sprang. This therefore, by all means, they seek to repress; giving some blind Hope to the *Lutheran*, of Quiet and Toleration, so he will joyn against these, the Fretters out of both. But of all places, their Desires and Attempts to recover *England*, have been always,

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and ſtill are, the the ſtrongeſt: Which, although in their more ſober Moods, ſundry of them will acknowledge, to have been the only Nation, that took the right way of juſtifial Reformation, in compariſon of other, who have run headlong rather to a tumultuous Innovation (ſo they conceive it;) whereas that Alteration which hath been in *England*, was brought in with peaceable and orderly Proceeding, by general Conſent of the Prince and whole Realm, repreſentatively aſſembled in ſolemn Parliament, a great part of their own Clergy according and conforming themſelves unto it: No *Luther*, no *Calvin*, the Square of their Faith; what publick Diſcuſſing, and long Deliberation did perſuade them to be faulty, that taken away; the Succeſſion of Biſhops, and Vocation of Miniſters continued, the Dignity and State of the Clergy preſerved, the Honour and Solemnity of the Service of God not abaſed, the more ancient Uſages of the Church not cancelled: In ſum, no Humour of affecting Contrariety, but a charitable Endeavour rather of Conformity with the Church of *Rome*, in whatſoever they thought not gain-ſaying to the expreſs Law of God; which is the only approvable Way, in regard of the Power and Renown of the Prince, and of their exemplary Policy in Government of the State; in regard, that they concurring entirely with neither ſide, yet reverenced with both, are the fitter and abler to work Unity between them, and to be an Umpire alſo, Director and Swayer

Prayer of all, Whensoever there should be Occasion of assembling their Councils, or of conjoyning their Forces for their common Defence; and especially, for that it is the only Nation of the Protestant Party, able to encounter and affront their King in Catholicks Proceedings for the rooting out of Heresie, as their Actions both by Sea and Land have manifested, of all places in the World, they desire most to recover it; making full Account, that the rest would then soon follow, and apply to them of their own Accord, one after another. But to as high a Tide as they are risen in their Desires thereof, to as low an Ebb are they fallen in their Hopes; being less now, for ought I perceive, than ever; having seen Her Majesty so often, and almost miraculously preserved, their Treasons discovered, their Excommunications vanished, their Armies defeated, their Cartals and Books answered, their chief Champions discouraged, wasted, deceased; those that remain, though many, yet few of Ability; insomuch, but for some small Remnant of Hope of Alteration, which Time and Trouble, as they imagine, may yet bring, their Founders were likely to withdraw from them, ere long, their Stipends, which get them but a vain Name of fruitless Liberality. And this is all I can say for any Hope or Means of this general Unity, and so must leave and recommend it to God; as being both our Hope, and now remaining only Policy, to address our united, and general Supplications to his Divine

Power and Majesty, that it may please him, by that ever-springing Fountain of his Goodness, and gracious Mercy, even beyond all humane Hope, if it may so stand with his blessed Will; and by such Means, as to his Divine Wisdom, are ever in readiness to effect those things, which to Man's Wit may seem impossible; to extend his compassionable and helping Hand over his miserable, defiled, disgraced Church; persecuted abroad, and persecuting it self at home; confined by Tyrants into a Corner of the World, and therein raging and renting it self in fitters; to purge out of Men's Minds that Ambition and Vanity, which so bewitcheth them with the Love of the Pomps and Glories of this perishing and ending World, which, in the breathing of a Breath, they will loath and despise as nothing; and to ingraft in them a pure and single Eye, to behold that eternal Truth, which seen, breeds Love; and loved, conduces to Happiness; to root out all Gall and Acerbity on both sides, and to bend their Hearts to Charity; that being re-united in the Pilgrimage of this Life, this Country of our Terrestrial Bodies, we may, after our Service and Course therein accomplished, ascend under the Conduct of our Saviour, before ascended, to our everlasting Rest, in the Country of Celestial Souls; there, in Society and Unity of Saints and Angels, to enjoy the happy Vision of the All-glorious Deity, and to sing his Praise for ever.

Upon

Upon what Ground the Pope ſuffereth Jews *and* Grecians *in* Italy.

I ſhould here make an End concerning the Church of *Rome*, but that a Queſtion incident to the Matter which was laſt ſpoken of, being moved by many, and diverſly anſwered, doth ſummon me to deliver up my Conjecture alſo: And that is, Upon what Ground of Equity or Policy, the Pope ſhould ſuffer both the Jews and Grecians to have publick Exerciſe of their Religion in *Italy*; yea, in *Rome* it ſelf, under His Holineſs's Noſe: And only the poor Proteſtant muſt be excluded, or beſieged; yea, perſecuted and chaſed, if it be poſſible, out of the World; no View of his Religion to other, no Exerciſe of it to himſelf permitted. For as for the *Grecians*, they have a Church at *Venice*, with an Archbiſhop of *Philadelphia*, a Biſhop of *Cerigo*, and ſundry other inferiour Prieſts, to govern it: And the *Italians* alſo do often repair to their Maſs. They have their Maſs alſo in *Greek*, with Leavened Bread, and other Schiſmatical Ceremonies, at *Rome* it ſelf: And in *Naples*, they ſay, their Prieſts retain their Wives ſtill, by Permiſſion from the Pope; in regard, that in thoſe places they acknowledge, in ſome ſort, the Pope's Pre-eminency and Power; which at *Venice* they do not, but a meer Primacy of Order, which the ancient Councils have thought good to give him. No more do the *Grecians* in Apulia and Calabria, about Otronto, and at Caſ-

land, nor in Corfu, and other Islands adjoyning to that Coast; being the old Remains of the Occidental *Grecians*, and who have always, and do still follow the *Greek* Church in all things; though those in Calabria and Apulia be Subjects to the King of *Spain*, and in his Power to root out whensoever himself listeth. And yet, even in *Italy* it self doth he suffer them, and their Religion; who never could be induced to tolerate the Protestant, in any the remotest Corner of his huge scattered Monarchy; though the *Grecians* are condemned Hereticks, even in Matter of the Trinity, and perpetual Oppugners of the Papal Right and Authority. Then for the *Jews*, they ever swarm in most of the chief Parts of *Italy*, at *Rome* especially; where the least number I could ever yet hear them esteemed at, is ten thousand and upward; though other say, twice as many. They have their fair, or at leastwise fine Synagogues, both there and elsewhere; their Circumcision, their Liturgies, their Sermons in publick; and all that list, may resort unto them.

Yea, in Means of enriching themselves, they are so much favoured, that in all places they are permitted to strain up their Usury to Eighteen in the Hundred upon the Christian (for among themselves, they no where use it) whereas half that Sum, in a Christian, is not tolerated; which causeth many greedy and Conscienceless Christians to use these *Jews* for their Brokers under hand, in improving their unlawful Rents to the utmost Proportion.

They

They have also in some places, and it may be in all, a peculiar Magistrate, to decide any Controversie between Christians and them, and particular Direction to favour them in their Trades. And lastly, whereas *France* hath banished that Race; in Avignon only, the Pope's City, they are harboured and retained. Some answer to this Demand, in defence of the Pope, that the Church hath no Authority to chastise the *Jews*, who never were within the Church, but are as Enemies in even Terms: Whereas the Protestants are either unnatural and rebellious Children, who have flung out of the Church, or the Issue of such, against whom, her Authority is endless, and unrestrained, to take all Courses possible, to reclaim them for ever. This Answer seems faulty; both as short of the Question, seeing it extendeth not to the *Grecians*, who are in the very same Roll of Hereticks and Schismaticks, Flingers out of the Church; and for that there is difference between exercising Jurisdiction in punishing an Enemy, and not harbouring and cherishing him, with his unlawful and scandalous Religion, perpetually, in our very Bosoms; as is done in *Italy*, who have called the *Jews* in thither; yea, and still do entice them, whom *France*, and *England*, and *Spain*, have banished from them long since.

Others leaving these Quirks of Justice, hold by the Texts of Charity, that it is a Christian Act to harbour a harmless Enemy; and especially, that it is, of all other, most befitting

the Church; who hath hereby alſo better Means to reduce them to the Faith; and ſo, in fine, to ſave their Souls, which is the ſum of her Endeavours. And in fortifying this Anſwer, there is to be alledged for the firſt Point, That the *Jews* have their Service in *Hebrew*, and the *Grecians* in *Greek*; which *Italy* underſtandeth not: Yea, and that they have purged the *Hebrew* Liturgy from all Points wherein they did impugn or ſcandalize Chriſtianity. And for the ſecond Point, That the *Jews* are bound to repair, at ſome times, to the Chriſtian Sermons; by which Means, ſome few of them have been converted; and more may be, when God ſhall pleaſe ſo. But neither ſeems this Anſwer ſo perfect, as were requiſite: For the *Jews* make their Sermons, or Expoſitions of the Law in the *Italian* Language, though the Texts of Scripture they cite in the Original; and although they have purged their Liturgies, as they ſay; yet leaving them Circumciſion, they tolerate that which is now intolerable. And as for their gaining of any Souls among them, if they gained not more Crowns, that Reaſon would not ſtand. For if any Credit may be given to the Hebrews themſelves, as many Friars become *Jews*, as *Jews* become Friars; of both ſorts ſome, but few of either. But of the good Proviſion they have taken to convert them, and of the Fruits thereof, I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. In the mean time, this I ask; Would they ſuffer the *Engliſh* Proteſtants to have an *Engliſh* Church there, none underſtanding

ding their Language, neither in Service nor Sermons; yea, and purging their Liturgy of whatsoever may seem to impugn or deface their Religion, if there be any thing in it of that offensive quality? As for my part, I know nothing, but think rather, with great Judgment, it was purposely so framed out of the Grounds of Religion; wherein both sides do agree, that their very Catholicks might resort to it without Scruple or Scandal, if Faction, more than Reason, did not sway. Then for repairing to their Sermons, they know by Experience, they will not be backward; especially having the Opinion of great Divines (as some say) that it is not unlawful. And lastly, What Reason, why they should not be as hopeful to gain *English* Mens Souls, as *Jews?* Yes, their Hope is greater; else would they not be at such Cost upon the one abroad, and bestow so little Labour upon the other at home. To this Question they would answer, first, That there were more danger of flocking away their People, if they should have but a bare View of our Reformed Churches, as being more infectious; and therefore no Policy. And secondly, To what purpose the making of any such Motion? What need unto us; and to them, what profit? This Answer, deduced from Policy and Profit, I take to be the right Answer also, to the first principal Question; and neither of the former, drawn from Justice, or Charity. For there is no Cause of any Fear at all, either of the oppressed *Grecian*, or of the obstinate *Jew*;

bearing a Mark of Ignominy and Reproach in all places: Yea, they remain rather, as Examples and Spectacles among them, of Contempt and Misery: The one, for his ungrateful Refusal of Christ himself; the other, for his Sedition against Christ's Vicar; as they infer against him. Whereas, to give the Protestants any Foot among them, were the next way to leave themselves no Foot to stand on

On the other side, by extending Pity towards the afflicted and dismayed *Grecian*, whom the Hand of God hath laid as low as the very Dust we tread on, they sow some Hope of ranging himself again under their Subjection; which were to them, a Reputation and Strength inestimable; and such as cunningly, by false bruits, they cause the World daily to feed on.

Then for the *Jew*; the profit by him is exceeding great, and greater, in proportion of number, than by the very Curtizans; and that as well to the Pope, as to other Princes of *Italy*; to whom they pay a yearly Rent for the very Heads they wear, besides other Means to rack and wreck them in their Purses at pleasure. Which Gain, as it is a piece of the Cause, why the beastly Trade of the one, so is it the entire Reason, why the Trade of the other is permitted; they being used as the Friars, to suck from the meaner, and to be sucked by the greater: Insomuch, that the Pope, besides their certain Tribute, doth sometimes, as is said, impose on them a Subsidy of ten thousand Crowns extraordinary, for some Service of State.

Of

Of the Jews *Religion and Uſage.*

Now to conſider a little what probability of their Converſion in thoſe Parts, and by the way to touch ſomewhat of their Religion and Uſage. Thus ſtands their Caſe. They have a Religion, though ſomewhat ſtrange to our Conceits, as being framed not only out of the Law of the Old Bible, but alſo out of ſundry the ſtranger Opinions of the ancienter Philoſophers, together with certain Capricious Fancies and Fables of the Rabbins, yet ſo handſomely pieced and glewed together, that one part ſeems to hang to the other not abſurdly. And that which they hold, they are ſo perfect in, that they will give both a profitable Account thereof out of a certain Moral Philoſophy and Reaſon, wherein they are well ſeen; as alſo make ſome ſhew for it out of the Bible it ſelf; wherein they are the skilfulleſt Men I believe in the World; and needs muſt be ſo, ſetting their Children to the Hebrew Language, at three years old, and following no other Study ſave of the Bible, and writing upon it all their Life long, except certain few that betake themſelves to Phyſick. Touching God and his Nature, their Opinions are for the moſt very Honourable and Holy, ſave that they deny the Trinity; touching Angels, but weak, and foiled with much Poetry; touching the Nature and Condition of Man, very Exquiſite, and for the moſt part drawing near unto Truth. But for the three States of the Soul

of

of Man, they run ſome more ſtrange Courſes; holding the Creation of them, altogether before the Bodies, with ſundry of the Ancient, both Divines and Philoſophers, the μετεμψύχωσις of *Pythagoras*, (though not to different ſpecies) and *Plato*'s Purgatory. Of Vertue and Vice, and Mans courſe, in both they think not much amiſs; ſave that to the Expiation of Sin, they hold nothing Neceſſary, but the Repentance of the Sinner, and the Mercy of the Forgiver, which in that caſe is always ready. For Reward, it cometh wholly from the bounty of God, without deſert; yet different in Degree, according to the works of each Man. That the general Law of all Men, is the Law of Nature only, which whoſo keeps, it ſhall lead him to bliſs in what Religion ſoever; though the Hebrew, unto whom *Moſes*'s Law was peculiarly given, by obſerving it, ſhall have a greater Prerogative of Glory. They prefer the Civil Life before the Solitary, and Marriage before Virginity; as being to Nature more agreeable, to Mankind more profitable, and conſequently to God more acceptable. Their belief of the end of the World, and of the final Judgment, of the reſtoring of Mens Bodies, and of their happineſs everlaſting in the height of the Heavens; is good in the general. But as they think it a bad Opinion, which ſome of great Name, have ſeemed to hold, that God in his everlaſting and abſolute pleaſure, ſhould affect the extream miſery of any of his Creatures,

Creatures, for the shewing of his justice and severity in Tormenting them; or that the Calamity, casting away, and damnation of some, should absolutely and necessarily redound more to his Glory, than the Felicity of them all; considering that his Nature is meer Goodness and Happiness, and hath no Affinity with rigor or Misery; so contrariwise, they think with *Origen*, that Hell in the end shall be utterly Abolished, and that the Divels themselves, after a long course of bitter Repentance and Punishment, shall find Mercy at his hands that did create them; that the World may entirely be restored to that Purity, wherein God at first did make it; and to that perfection and happiness, whereto each part of it in his several Degree, was destined by him, from whom nothing but goodness and blissfulness could proceed. Their Liturgy in the kind of it, is not different from ours; consisting of Psalms and Prayers, with sundry shorter Hymns and Responds; of Lessons, one out of the Law, and read by some chief Person; another out of the Prophets, correspondent to the former in Argument, but read by some Boy or meaner Companion.

For they in no sort allow that degree of Honour, neither attribute they that Authority to any other part of the Bible, that they do to the Law; which they carry about their Synagogue at the end of Service in Procession, with many rich Ornaments of Crowns and Scepters, the

Children

Children kiſſing it as it paſſeth by them; and ſometimes make Proclamation, who will give moſt to their Treaſure, to have the Honour for that time of taking out the Law. But for the manner of performing their Service, and their behaviour thereat, it is different from all other that ever I ſaw. They chaunt it in a ſtrong wide hollowing Tune, with imitation ſometimes of Trumpets, one echoing to the other, and winding up by degrees from a ſoft or ſilent whiſpering, to the higheſt and loudeſt note that their voices will bear; with continual great wagging of their Bodies and Exultation, as it were in ſome ſavage or raging Solemnity; ſometimes all ſpringing up lightly from the ground, and with as much variety, as wild work will receive. They wear certain Ornaments of embroidered Linen, caſt Mantle-wiſe about their ſhoulders, which are their philacters edged with knotted Fringe, according to the number of the Commandments, and ſerving as Local memories of the Law. The Reverence they ſhew is in ſtanding up at times, and their Geſture of Adoration, is bowing forward of their Bodies, for Kneeling, they uſe none, no more than the *Grecians*, neither ſtir they their Bonnets in their Synagogue to any man, but remain ſtill covered. They come to it with waſhed hands; and in it, they burn Lamps to the honour of God. But for any ſhew of Devotion, or elevation in Spirit, that yet in a Jew could I never diſcern, but they are as reverent

reverent in their Synagogue, as Grammar-Boys in their Schools, when their Maſter is abſent: In ſum, their Holineſs is the very outward work it ſelf, being a Brainleſs Head, and a Soul-leſs Body: For Circumciſion, they uſe it to the Dead, as well as to the Living; yet no way think it neceſſary for the Infants Salvation. They are a ſubtile and advantageous People, and wonderfully eager of Gain: in ſo much, that whoſo deals with them, needs let his Wit go with his Belief, or elſe his findings ſhall come ſhort of his expectings. As earneſt to make Proſelites, as ever their Anceſtors, and as obſtinate againſt *Chriſt*, as the Prieſts that condemned him. In other points they are perhaps rather to be commended than otherwiſe. Their care of avoiding Fornication is ſuch, that they Marry their Sons at Eighteen lightly. But Adultery they would puniſh according to the Law with Death, if they had ſuch Liberty. When they break the Law, they come voluntarily as Penitents to their Rabbi for Puniſhment, yet without any particular diſcloſing of their Fault. They keep their Faſts and Solemn Feaſts very duly, but as the Chriſtians faſt the Night, ſo they the Noon always. They are Charitable among themſelves, leaving no Poor unrelieved, no Priſoner unranſomed, which makes them good prize upon every pretence. And although for their Uſury and guileful Dealing, they are generally hated there, and handled as very Dogs; yet ſome of them I have known,

known, Men of ſingular Vertue and Integrity of Mind, ſeeming to want no Grace, but the Faith of a Chriſtian. Each Synagogue hath his Rabbi, to expound their Law, to inſtruct their Children, to decide their differences.

For their *Meſſias*, they ſay now, ſeeing he ſtays ſo long, he ſhall be a fore-runner of the end of the World; and ſhall gather by his Power all Nations into one fold, and ſo reſign them up into the hands of that eternal Paſtour. But it ſeemeth they expect him out of the Eaſt, whither the *Spaniſh Jews* fled, and have exceedingly multiplyed. For thoſe do they hold to be of the Tribe of *Judah*; and theſe other in *Germany* and *Italy*, of the Tribe of *Benjamin*; who in Honour of the more Noble Tribe, and to correſpond with them the better, do learn the *Spaniſh* Tongue, which thoſe ſtill retain.

Of their Converſion in Italy.

But now to come to the Point which I principally intended, which is, what probability of their Converſion in Italy; three great Impediments, beſides their natural and inrooted obſtinacy, I ſuppoſe there are which hinder it; the ſcandals of the Chriſtians; the want of means to inſtruct them, and the puniſhment, or loſs which by their Converſion they incur. A ſcandal it is, to ſee Mans Law directly preferred before Gods, to ſee ſo great a matter made of eating Fleſh on a Friday, and that

Adultery

Adultery ſhould paſs for ſo ordinary a paſtime. A ſcandal are thoſe Blaſphemies, darted up with Helliſh Mouths againſt God and our Saviour, ſo ordinarily and openly, that ſome of them are become very Interjections of ſpeech to the Vulgar, and other ſome, meer phraſes of Gallantry to the Braver. A Scandal is that forging and packing in Miracles; wherein the Friars and Jews concur in equal diligence, the one in contriving, the other in diſcovering them. And ſurely, this is an exceeding great Scandal unto them; ſeeing Truth is of ſo pure and Victorious a Nature, that it refuſeth to be in League with any falſhood in the World, much more diſdaineth to be aſſiſted by it; neither can there be a greater wrong done to a true Concluſion, than to endeavour to prove it, by an untrue Allegation. A Scandal are the Alterations, which they are forced by the Inquiſitors, to make in their Authors and Monuments of Antiquity, thinking that theſe Devices, are our beſt Evidences. But of all thoſe Alterations they keep a note for aftertime. A Scandal is the vowing and praying to Angels and Saints; which they hold to be duty peculiar unto God only, and ſo hath it been eſteemed among them in all Ages. Yea, and they note, that the Chriſtians pray more oft, and more willingly to Chriſts Mother, than unto Chriſt himſelf, or unto God. But the greateſt Scandal of all other, is their Worſhipping of Images; for which, both *Jews* and *Turks*, call

them

them the Idolatrous Christians. Now this is so much the greater, and of more Indignity, for that they generally conceive it to be a thing which Christ himself expresly Commanded; and that in the Gospel of Christ, written by the Evangelists themselves, the Decalogue should be recited, with omission of the second Precept, as one of their greatest Rabbins contested with me, being induced into that Error, by some Catechisms of the Christians, which he had seen with that fault. Now when they come to Conference with the Priests and Friars, (as sometimes they do) and upbraid this, as a peremptory Exception against Christ, those good Men deny it not, for fear of scandalizing their own, but letting it pass for current, that Christ, whom the Jews call a Carpenter, was also an Image-maker, or howsoever an Author of the worshipping of them; seek to salve up the Gash, which they have made in the plain Words of that Law, which was written by the Finger of God, with their speculative Plasters of distinguishing between the Images of the true God, and the Idols of false Gods, of δουλεία and λατρεία, of intention instrumental and final in Worship.

All which are the unsavoureſt drugs to the Jew in the World, who saith there was never Nation yet so blockish under the Sun, as to Worship a Stock and Stone as a final Object, but only as a representation of some absent Divinity, and that the Heathen themselves, call them

them every where, the Effigies and Simulachra of other; yet such Effigies, as that the Divine Power by his Virtue, did sometime Inhabit, and work Miracles by, even as our Lady doth in her Images, in infinite places of Christendom; whereby, if the Poor Idiot were deceived among the Pagans, to think sometimes, that very Image, some Divine matter or Person; as clear is it, that the like befals infinite simple Christians, seeing their Images, either to grow, or to weep and bleed, as they do often, and so infinite Cures wrought, by viewing or touching them. And for their Degrees of Worship, between Gods Images and the Saints, they cannot perceive them, they kneel to them alike, they Pray to them alike, they vow to them alike, they Incense them alike, they burn Candles to them alike, cloath them alike, they offer gifts to them alike, the difference, if it be any, is in their mental Affections; which, whether the blunt, and undistinguishing Wits of the Vulgar do observe, they suppose a small measure of Discretion may conjecture. In like sort for their distinction between the Images of the true God, and of false Gods; they tell them, that in other cases, that might have this use, but none in this Law; it being expounded in other places, as prohibiting this base sensual and seducing kind of worshipping even God himself by an Image, if any Image of God were possible to be made, that thus the Law it self doth plainly deliver; thus

they which received the Law, understood it; thus all their Holy Ancestours and Learned Doctors have still interpreted; and thus hath their Nation in all Ages believed. And therefore they say, for their coming to the Christian Sermons, that as long as they shall see the Preacher direct his Speech and Prayer to that little wooden Crucifix, which stands on the Pulpit by him, to call it his Lord and Saviour, to kneel down to it, to embrace and kiss it, to weep upon it, (as is the fashion of *Italy*) this is Preaching sufficient for them, and perswades them more with the very sight of it to hate Christian Religion, than any Reason that the World can alledge to love it. And these be the Scandals, which as I have heard themselves alledge, they take on that side; besides their **Transubstantiation**, which they can at no hand digest. The particular Scandal from the Protestants, is their mutual Dissention, which they hold to proceed from the want of the Unity of Truth in their Foundation; otherwise, save for their general Exceptions against Christianity, they hold their Religion very conformable to the Law of Nature, which they account the principal. But were all the unneedful Scandals in those parts removed, yet is there no good means there, of the *Jews* Conversion. They complain first, that the New Testament being the ground of our Religion, they cannot see it. That *Italian* Translation which they had, is called in, and taken from them. It is printed

printed in Hebrew Letters, but not in Hebrew Language, at leaſtwiſe, not ſuch as they can underſtand. With Greek and Latin, their Nation never medled. Beſides, which the Inquiſitors have inhibited and taken from them all Books that were publiſhed in that Theme on either ſide, as well thoſe that have been written in defence of Chriſtian Religion, as the contrary againſt it; alledging, they will have no diſputing in matter of Religion, either way; much like to an Edict ſet up at Dola in the French County, where the Jeſuits reſide, forbidding any talk of God, either in good ſort or bad. Then laſtly, for thoſe few Sermons they are bound to repair to, ſeldom where I have been, are they directed to the *Jews*, or to the Points they ſtick on, but hold on their uſual Tenour, as reſpecting more the Chriſtians. The laſt encouragement to Men, eſpecially of their metal, is that at their Converſion to Chriſtianity, they muſt part with their Goods to the Chriſtians. And the reaſon is, for that in Baptiſm, they renounce the Devil and all his Works; part whereof, are the *Jews* goods, being gotten either by themſelves, or by their Anceſtors, with Uſury. Now this is ſuch a cold comfort to a Man ſet on the World, as that Nation is wonderfully; that for my part, I have not heard of any converted in thoſe parts, ſave ſome few Phyſicians, with ſome of their Children; who by friendſhip from the Pope, have obtained Diſpenſation to retain

their Goods ſtill, in as much as they were gotten by their Honourable Profeſſion. But if on the contrary ſide, the Chriſtians would again in their Charity, give ſomewhat for the competent entertainment of ſuch, as for Gods ſake, did give up their own; I could not but well commend that rigor of Juſtice, which the bountifulneſs of this Mercy did mitigate and aſſweeten. But being no ſuch matter, there remains nothing for a Jew converted, but to be Friared; a Trade, which of all other they leaſt can fancy, as being contrary, as they alledge, to Nature it ſelf, which hath made Man ſociable, and each helpful unto other, in all civil Duties; a Trade never commanded or commended by God, never practiſed, or counſelled by their renowned Anceſtors, who received continual Inſtruction and Inſpiration from above, which none of their Patriarchs or Prophets have given Example of; only in three or four thouſand years, *Elias* and ſome one other have been found upon very extraordinary cauſe, to have taken alſo an extraordinary courſe of Life; though of other Nature, and to other purpoſe, than the Votaries of our times. And theſe are the terms that the *Jews* ſtand in, in thoſe parts, and ſo muſt I leave them to the merciful cure of God; an unbleſſed and forſaken People; obſtinate within, and ſcandalized without; indefatigable in their Expectation, untractable in Perſwaſion, Worldly, yet Wretched; received of their Enemies,

Enemies, but despised and hated; scattered over all Countries, but no where planted; daily multiplying in number, but to the Increase of their Servitude, and not of their Power: In sum, a long continued, and marked Example of God's just Severity; to abate their Pride, that glory even as they, in their Ancestors and Founders, God's Temple and Oracles, many Promises and Prerogatives, long Continuance in honourable Estate and Glory (which things, were they sufficient to preserve any See in the World, even their Seat had been preserved by them) and to proclaim to the whole World, that there is no Assurance of the Favour, Protection, and Assistance of God (without which, all falls to Ruin) but by believing in his Son, and in keeping his Commandments. And this also may seem, touching the Church of *Rome*, sufficient.

Of the Greek *Church, and their Religion.*

Next followeth the Greek Church, enthralled all, in a manner, save the *Moscovites*, and the *Candians*, with some few other of no great Name and Number, under the *Turkish* Tyranny. Of which Church, as their far Distance from us requireth not to speak much, so their Uniformity in Misery yieldeth not much to be spoken. For their Religion, except only their ancient Error, touching the Proceeding of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, wherein they have long dissented from all the Latin, or

Weſt Church; in other Points, they ſeem to ſtand in ſome middle Terms of Opinion, between the Romaniſts and Proteſtants; yet ſo, that in the more, they approach to the Church of *Rome*; and to the Proteſtants in the more weighty, or at leaſtwiſe, more dominative. With *Rome*, they concur in the Opinion of Tranſubſtantiation; and generally, in the Sacrifice, and whole Body of the Maſs; in Praying to Saints, in Auricular Confeſſion, in Offering of Sacrifice and Prayer for the Dead: And in theſe, without any, or no material difference. They hold Purgatory alſo, and the Worſhipping of Pictures. But for Images, they will not ſo much as endure them in their Churches; as well for that Proclivity they have, to train away the Ignorant into a Crime of Pagan Error; as alſo to avoid that Similitude between their Churches and the Heatheniſh Temples of Idols, which Imagery doth cauſe. And for their Pictures, they kneel to two only; of Chriſt, and our Lady; the reſt they paſs over with an ordinary Reverence. For Purgatory, they hold none in Hell, or in the Skirts thereof, or by any outward Torment; but that the Souls of the Faithful are not received into Glory, till by an extream Compunction, and Anguiſh of Mind, they have worn out thoſe Stains, with which Sin, and the Pleaſures thereof, in this Life, defile them. In ſum, Thoſe Opinions which grew into the Church, before the Separations between the

Greeks

Greeks and the *Latins*, and all those Ceremonies which were common unto both, they still retain; as their Crossings, and Tapers; with certain other. But for those Superstitions which have crept in, in fresher Memory, or which were, if as ancient, yet not so current; and in general, all those Canons of the Romish Faith, which have been thrust on them in these latter Times, by the unaccountable Power and Pride of the Papacy, tending to the Advancement of their own See, and to the exempting of their Church and Doctrine from Tryal; by those Anabaptistical Fancies of the Spirit, that moves them, and protects them from Error in their Consultations and Resolutions touching matter of Faith, extenuating the Sufficiency and Authority of the Scripture, in Comparison of their Spirit, or Church, guided by it: All these things they abhor, no less than the Protestant. They hold Understanding requisite to concur with Affection, for the Accomplishment of Devotion in praying to God: And although their Liturgies are the same that were in old Time; namely, St. *Basil*'s, St. *Chrisostom*'s, and St. *Gregory*'s translated, without any bending of them to that Change of Language, which their Tongue hath also suffered; yet do they say, that Alteration is not so great, but that their People, with small accustoming, understand the Liturgies well enough. But for praying by Tale, with St. *Dominick*'s round Compters, they esteem of it no better than those Hea-

theniſh Repetitions, and unnatural Lip-labours, which our Saviour cenſured. Neither can they believe, that the Apoſtle St. *James* the Leſſer, who is painted under the Papacy, with his great Beads at his Girdle (even as *Mary Magdalen* lightly praying before a Crucifix) was St. *Dominick*'s Diſciple; but a wiſer Man's far, and one that introduced a better Faſhion of praying, if the World could have been content to have followed his Preſcript. In like ſort for the Holy-Water, ſo much uſed under the Papacy; they believe no ſuch Fear that the Devil ſhould have of it, nor ſuch Force in it to purge Sin, as their Neighbours do teach. They repute it a very vain Opinion, that the Church cannot err, both in the whole, and every part thereof; and conſequently, that their Neighbours of *Rome* had beſtowed their Pains better, which they have ſpent in proving and perſuading that they cannot err, in providing, and caring more, not to have erred. They acknowledge that there is ſufficient Doctrine in Scripture for Salvation; though to the ancient Uſages of the Church, and Writings of ancient Fathers, they yield due Reverence. Three things in the Pope, they condemn eſpecially; his Pride, his Cruelty, and his Preſumption moſt of all: His Pride, in arrogating ſo exorbitant a Juriſdiction over all the Church, contrary to the Decrees of ancient Councils, and upon Shadow of right, or good Foundation; but chiefly, in uſurping that Temporal Tyranny

ny over Princes and their States, in depoſing of the one, and diſpoſing of the other, at his abſolute Pleaſure: His Cruelty, in perſecuting other Chriſtians with ſuch Extremity, for their different Opinions: His Preſumption, in mounting up into the Seat of God, by diſpenſing with the Laws of God, and granting Pardons for Sin, and **Liberaties** out of Purgatory; which they account to be of thoſe Royal Prerogatives, incident to God only. For as for their Doctrinal Foundation of thoſe **Indulgences, Overplus of Merits and Satisfaction in ſome**, being more than they needed, or than were to be required, with any Joys of Heaven, in their particular Perſons; and conſequently, remain as a perpetual Treaſure to the Church, to be conferred by the Pope, on his weaker, and leſs deſerving, or rather leſs ſatisfying Children (for ſo is their Opinion) ſo far are they from prizing Merits at ſuch an ineſtimable Value, that contrariwiſe, they concur in Aſſertion with the Proteſtants, that it is impoſſible for any Creature to merit, as by way of Right, the leaſt Dram of Reward at his Creator's Hands; the Service of ten thouſand Millions of Worlds being not able to add any Shadow of Perfection to him, who is **Perfection it ſelf**; having whatſoever is good or deſirable within himſelf, even from all Eternity, in infinite of Degree, and with Impoſſibility of any the leaſt Addition: But whatſoever Reward is beſtowed on the Creature, floweth

forth

forth from the meer Bounty and Graciouſneſs of the Creator; who, as in Goodneſs alone, and meer Grace, did make him, ſo in Goodneſs, and meer Grace alſo, doth advance him unto that higher Happineſs.

That Service intermedial, which he requires at his hand, is a gracious Diſpoſition of ſweeteſt Harmony, from the unexplicable Wiſdom of a Lord and Father, ſtill abounding, and ſtill enlarging his Hands, in all Bounty and Goodneſs towards his Sons and Servants; and deſtined to no other, than to the Creature's Behoof, to his Benefit and Advancement only; that by his requiſite Endeavours in thoſe honourable Ways of Wiſdom and Vertue, of Love and Thankfulneſs, and of imitating his Maker, in doing Good in the World, he may grow, being aſſiſted with Divine Grace and Vertue, to an higher degree of Goodneſs; ſtill perfecting, more and more, all the Faculties and Parts of his unperfect Soul and Nature; whereunto alſo an higher degree of Glory is propoſed, and reſerved, by the great Rewarder, in the heigth of the Heavens, as a full and final Accompliſhment of his whole Deſires, and as the Crown of his Celeſtial Bleſſedneſs. Now, as in this Opinion, they agree in general with the Proteſtants, ſo do they mightily diſſent from that Doctrine, touching the Eternal Councils of God; which *Calvin*, as ſome conceive, firſt fully revealed, or rather introduced into the Chriſtian World; and ſince, ſome of his Friends and

and Followers have seconded; as thinking it very injurious to the Goodness of God, and directly and immediately opposite to his very Nature. In regard whereof, one of their Bishops hath written a Book against it; which hath been sent to *Geneva*, and there received. Thus much of their Doctrine; which, though I know it may be better and fullier had in their Books, yet have I not thought it inconvenient to deliver thus in brief, how I have found them also, in Speech and Conference, affected.

Of their Liturgies.

Their **Liturgies**, for the substance, are those three I have named; all which they use, for Variety sake, in the several Times and Feasts allotted for them. For the Form and Ceremonies, they resemble much the Latins; though of the two, the *French* Mass, more than the *Italian*; not only in their holy Bread, but especially in their Altar; which with great Mystery, as is said, they both inclose from the People, that the Arcana of those their ineffable Crossings and Convertings, may not be prostituted and polluted by unsanctified View; whereas the *Romans*, finding no such Virtue in that Mystery, lie fair and open on all sides, to all Eyes. In their Host they use Leaven, which the Latins avoid; and they elevate it forward, which the Latins do backward; and near the Body of the Church, which the other

do

do at the Altar. In their Croſſings, they are very plentiful; but herein ſwerving from the *Latins*, that the *Greek* (who is more nimble therein) begins his Croſs-bar on the Right ſide, and the *Latin* on the Left; each with his ſeveral Myſtery. They have alſo a Myſtery in ſhifting and re-ſhifting, in one and the ſame Maſs, from one Altar to another, which the *Latins* have not; who contrariwiſe, in one Church have a dozen Maſſes ſometimes, all going at once, to ſeveral Altars; which the *Grecians* uſe not, for ought I could ſee. They have much ado with their Lights, in putting them out, and in again, at ſeveral times and parts of their Service. And their Liturgy is intermedled much with ſinging; performed in a Tune, neither very artificial, nor altogether neglected; but grave, alternated, and branched with divers parts.

At the Creed, the Prieſt cometh forth at the Door of the Chancel, and holds up a little embroidered Picture of Chriſt on the Croſs; towards which they do reverence, and pronounce their Belief. Their Geſtures of Reverence are the very ſame with the *Jews*; ſtanding up, and bowing forward their Bodies at times. For Kneeling, they uſe none, ſave only, as they ſay, one Day in the Year. At their Coming in, they bow themſelves thrice toward the Altar, and three times croſs themſelves. At their Departure, having taken their Holy-bread, with kiſſing the Prelate's Hand, from

from whom they receive it, they finally ſalute the Pictures of Chriſt and our Lady, kiſſing alſo their Hands, which are plated over with Metal, becauſe of wearing. But the *Grecians* Pictures of Chriſt and our Lady are nothing like to the *Latins*; but as different as any ordinary two Faces that a Man ſhall ſee. The moſt Uniformity therein that I have ſeen, is with us in *England*; for in *Italy* there is little, eſpecially of our Lady; whoſe very Pictures, which they ſay, St. *Luke* himſelf partly did draw, and partly began, and Angels did finiſh, may argue, perhaps, Devotion towards her in the Drawers, but ſmall Acquaintance; unleſs her Face were very variable, or very ſlender their Skill: Somewhere, as at *Loretto*, ſhe is painted like a Black-moor. In ſum, They have ſo little Knowledge of her Countenance and Favour, that in ſome places they will aſſemble divers of their faireſt Courtezans (as I have heard it reported) to draw the modeſt Beauty of a Virgin out of the Flagrancy of Harlots.

Of their Government.

But to return to the *Grecians*, and to come now to their Government; which is, as the World knows, that ancient, by Patriarchs, Archbiſhops and Biſhops, with other Officers inferior: Unto whom the People carry exceeding Reſpect and Reverence, as it were to the publick Fathers and Heads of their Nation, not-

notwithstanding that Calamity wherein the Tyranny of the *Turk* hath plunged them. They have also a Religious Order amongst them, of St. *Basil*, the great Founder of the East-Monks, as St. *Benedict* of the West. These only have their Vows of Chastity and Austerity, and may not marry; which, to the rest of the Clergy, is not prohibited. They have also their proper Habit, but shaven they are not, for ought I could discern, no more are their Priests; being a Ceremony so bald, that the very Priests in *France*, are ashamed of the Mark, and few of them have it, that can handsomly avoid it. But as in the multitude of their Religions, they differ much from the West Church; the *Grecians* having but this only one Order of St. *Basil*, and the *Latins* having multiplied therein to greater Store and Variety, than there are Professions in a Commonwealth, or Trades in a City; so also in their Use and Course of Life: For the *Roman* Monks, by the with-drawing themselves from the Society of other Men, and living and dying within their solitary Cloisters, do bereave the World of that Benefit of Duty and Service, wherein each Man is bound to the Behoof of other; alledging in place thereof, the Blessings which their Assiduity and Fervour in Prayer, not interrupted nor cured by Secular Conversements, draw down upon the World, as may be godlily believed, without further Proof: Whereas the *Greek* Monks seem to continue that ancienter,

cienter, and more approved Institution of them, by spiritual Meditations and Exercises, and by Severity, to make themselves fitter to serve in the Church of God, in Ecclesiastical Calling, with exemplary Holiness; and accordingly, their Prelates, and other principal Priests, are chosen in most places, out of their Order, in greatest part. These Guides of their Church have a wonderful Care, continually pricked with the Acerbity of much Fear and Grief of Heart, lest their persecuted Flock, gasping, as it were, in the helpless and comfortless Extremity of all kinds and degrees of Misery; having Famine of Soul, and great Blindness within, for want of Plasters and Means to maintain them; without, seeing nothing but Triumphs over Christ, and Scorns of his Religion, Insolencies and Violences against their Persons, Oppressions and Extortions upon their Goods, Rapines and Murtherings of the very Souls of their Children (a Case to be bewailed with Tears of Blood, by all Christian-Hearts that know it) hearing the only Anchor and Stay of their Souls, which is their Expectation of the Coming of Christ, and of future Salvation, daily derided and blasphemed by the Pride of the Mighty: And finally, seeing no Shadow of any Hope of Delivery from this long Calamity, under the Burthen whereof they groan, and are consumed; should, in the End, fall away, and revolt to Turcism; inviting them unto it with all the Baits

Baits of Eaſe, of Wealth, of Pleaſures, of Freedom, Proſperity and Worldly Glory: In which Fearfulneſs of Mind, the only Remedy remaining, is the Vertuouſneſs of their own Example in Conſtancy and Patience, and the Avoiding of all Scandal to their People. Which is the Cauſe, that they will not hear of reforming any thing: Not, I ſuppoſe, upon any Preſumption, or Obſtinacy of Mind, as diſdaining Reformation; but as trembling at Alteration, which muſt needs accompany it; leſt their People perceiving ſo they had been amiſs in ſome things, might ſuſpect the Poſſibility of like Error in the whole, and ſo fall mainly whither the Force of Power, and Worldly Proſperity, a chief Argument to the ignorant and vulgar Minds, ſhould ſway them. As on the other ſide, their Doubt of farther exaſperating the *Turk* in his Cruelty againſt them; conſidering that in *Greece*, and all other parts of *Europe*, the Chriſtians under the *Turk* do very manifoldly exceed in number the *Mahometans* themſelves, may be a Cauſe why, in their general, they hold ſo ſmall Intelligence and Correſpondence with the **Weſt Church**, of one ſide or other; and are like to continue ſo, whilſt their Thraldom, and Cauſe of their Fear ſhall laſt; though in their particular, they will declare a Brotherly Affection to both, and Deſire of the Unity of all in one Truth. But for the *Turk* himſelf, he maketh full Account, that whereſoever the **Weſt-Chriſtians** ſhould ſtoutly invade

invade him; the East-Christians under him would run to their Aid, if they saw any likelihood that they should prevail. And this hath been seen already more than once by Example; and he provides accordingly.

Of their Lives, and of the Muscovites.

The Muscovites are a great Church, a free and puissant; not Schismaticks from the *Grecians*, as some in disgrace of both deliver; though perhaps not fully concurring in all Points. Neither yet is it true which other of a contrary conceit have rumoured, that the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, hath removed his Seat to *Mosco*, whither he went only to erect that See into an Arch-Bishoprick, which before it was not, and so returned. But the *Turk* to keep the *Muscovites* from stirring against him, doth cause the *Tartarians* to make often Incursions and roads into their Country, that so being always in inward awe from another side, they may have less leisure, and withal less stomach, to embrace any outward thoughts or designs of enterprizing or combining with other Christians against him. It were needless now to enter into any view of their Lives, neither could it serve any way to the honour or reproach of their Religion or Government, being maimed, interrupted and stopped in his operations of what qualities soever, though his Tyranny who striveth by all means to plant barbarousness amongst them; as knowing that

neither Civility did found his Empire, nor with Civility could it long continue. But the caſe is general, and experience ſheweth it in all places, that although a ſweet mind and pure Converſation be the natural Fruits of a ſound Belief and Perſwaſion, yet the afflicted in all Religions grounded upon Truth, how contrary ſoever otherwiſe, are in their far greateſt part, Men of Conſcience and Honeſty, ſave only where hopes draw other Humors to them. For it cannnot proceed from leſs than a Vertuous affection to prefer the ſincerity of Conſcience before worldly Glory; howſoever it may be ſtained with other erroneous Opinions. As on the contrary ſide even the pureſt Religion in proſperity, draweth to it an infinite of good Companions and Time-ſervers, who being trained up in the exactneſs of Kitchin and Cup-Diſcipline, make their Rendezvouz always where the beſt chear is ſtirring, and follow Chriſt upon a ſharp Devotion, but to his Bread, not to his Doctrine. In which regard the fruits of Life in divers Religions and Governments, are not to be compared, but where their Proſperity or Adverſity are equal. And even ſo doth it fall out in this particular we now ſpeak of, where the *Grecian*, who is counted by the corruption of his Country, to be naturally a falſe and crafty Merchant, a ſeditious and ſtirring Perſon in all kinds of Government; is now become Humble, Obedient, Grave, and Peaceable, and ſurely at Divine Service giveth more

more ſhew of Devotion than the *Romaniſts* in any place, for ought I have yet ſeen. But the lamentable Calamity of this afflicted and diſtreſſed Church, once flouriſhing in all worldly Proſperity and Glory, now ſuch as it hath pleaſed the rage of the wild Boar to leave it, able to melt and diſſolve even a marble Heart into ſtreams of mournful Tears, doth cauſe me in due ſenſe of compaſſion of their Miſery, to preſs with the humble Petition of a Mind pierced with Grief, to the juſt Judge of the World, the Redeemer of Mankind, and the Saviour of his erring People, to caſt down his gracious and pitiful Eyes upon them, to behold on the one ſide his Triumphant fierce Enemy, perſecuting without end or meaſure; on the other ſide, his poor Servants trodden down and perſecuted, without help, or hope, or comfort, to break and diſſolve the Pride and Power of the one, and to comfort the aſtoniſhed and waſting weakneſs of the other, with ſome hope of ſuccour and final delivery, to inſpire the hearts of Chriſtian Princes their Neighbours, compounding or laying aſide their endleſs and fruitleſs Contentions, to revenge their quarrel againſt the unjuſt oppreſſor; to deliver now at length the Church of that bane, the World of that Ignominy, mankind of that Monſter, of *Turkiſh* Tyranny, which hath too long ravaged and laid deſolate the Earth. A ſmall thing were it, if his Revenue and Treaſure were only ſupplyed and maintained out of their Goods

and Labours, or if their Bodies and Lives were only wasted and worn out in his Works and Slaveries, it might be suffered: For goods are Transitory, and Death is the end of all worldly Miseries: But to be forced to pay a Tribute also of Souls to his *Mahomet*, to have their forwardest and dearest Children snatcht out of their Bosoms, to be brought up in his impious and bestial Abominations, and to be employed in the murdering of them that begat them, and in the rooting out of that Faith wherein they were born and Baptized, and which only were able to bring their Souls to happiness, this surely is an Anguish and Calamity insupportable, and which cryeth unto God in the Heavens for release. How long shall the hateful Name of the cursed Seducer upbraid the Glorious and Lovely Name of our Saviour? How long shall his falshood insult over our Faith? How long shall his Barbarism oppress Civility, and his Tyranny affront the true Honour of all lawful Government? But how long soever, this stands most sure for ever, that the Judgments of God are just, and directed even in his sharpest and most rigorous Chastisements to the benefit of the World, and instruction of Men; and sound to us besides other things, this admonishment allowed. that if in those People among which our Saviour himself conversed, at what time his beautiful steps honoured the World, if in those Churches which his Apostles so industriously planted, so carefully visited, so tenderly

tenderly cherished, instructed and confirmed by so many peculiar Epistles and for whom they sent up so many fervent Prayers, yea, unto whom are remaining those particular Letters which the Spirit of the Highest endited in the very Heavens, and sent down unto them for a forewarning and preventing of that Plague, which is since through their great neglect befaln them, if besides these spiritual Prerogatives and Graces, the Puissance and Glory of the great Empire of the World, the Christian Empire of *Rome*, being translated unto them, and seated in their Laps, with promise of Perpetuity to their present Prosperity, such then was the strength thereof; notwithstanding when they fell away from the first Zeal and Charity, when knowledge the right Mother of Humility made them swell, when they envyed each others Graces, which they ought to have loved; when abundance of all things bred wantonness instead of thankfulness; in fine, when they forgot the Author of all their bliss, and fell one to snarling and biting at another, instead of puting up and forgiving Offences, if not for the reconciling Name of Brother-hood, yet for his sake who was Father and equal Lord of both; it pleased God to suffer that a base Thief and a Wicked, with a train of desperate and forsaken Vagabonds, to the eternal reproach of all their Wisdom and Policy should advance himself so by his Industry, and their Security, and grow to such an

an heigth in his Succeſſours and Followers, as to be a Terrour and Amazement to all the World, to themſelves in inexplicable and unſuccourable Calamity to ſtrip them of all thoſe Graces and Bleſſings, which ungratefulneſs would not Acknowledge, Pride and Wantonneſs did Abuſe, and to heap on them as much Miſery, as the fury of a Barbarous and Mercileſs Tyrant can inflict upon ſuch as have no means to appeaſe him, ſave their Calamity alone, nor to withſtand him beſides their Patience; then ſurely we, who come ſhort of them ſo far in pledges of Favour, and equal them in our Fault; and they who have had in particular the like threatning Caveats of cutting off and not ſparing, notwithſtanding all the Vertues of their honourable Anceſtors; may think it high time to enter into a more ſerious Cogitation of our Ways, to turn all our Pollicies and Contentions againſt others, into an humble and ſincere Examination of our ſelves, that repentance and amendment may prevent thoſe Puniſhment which Wickedneſs hath deſerved, and Obſtinacy now highly doth provoke.

Of the Churches Reformed.

It remains that I ſhould proceed to the Churches Reformed; of which there are many things alſo to be ſaid: But the fear of having over-wearied your Grace with my length in the former, drawn on by multitude and variety of matter, ſtill freſhly preſenting it ſelf,

contrary

contrary to my Opinion and first Intention, doth cause me to defer the rest till some other occasion. In the mean while I presume to offer this to your Graces good Acceptance, as a Testimony of that duty and thankfulness which I bear and owe; so do I gladly also submit it to be censured and controlled by your Graces Judgment and Wisdom. For however, I have waded herein with that uprightness of Mind, I trust, which becometh a lover and searcher of Truth; and have also to my best, avoided that rashness and lightness in Belief, to which they that are subject, swallow down much, which fills them with wind instead of Nourishment; yet viewing on the other side in such a multitude at this Day, who perhaps with like Integrity, equal Wariness, more Diligence, and manifoldly more means of certain Information, have delivered either Histories or other particular Relations, how few have not stumbled upon many an Error, where they thought was nothing but plain ground and Truth. I cannot have that Affiance or Presumption of my good Fortune, as to hope to be the Man alone that should hit Truth in all things: But rather as foreseeing almost an impossibility of not often erring in matter of this large and scattered Quality, depending also so much upon Conjectures and Reports; do willingly subject whatsoever I have said, to be gainsaid by the better information of any other; and shall be always ready to make

honourable

honourable amends to Truth, by recalling and defacing whatsoever may seem in any wise repugnant to it, as professing the Truth only; which I have sincerely and unpartially endeavoured to deliver, to be the fruit of my desire; and the Errors which I have incurred, to be the Weeds of my Ignorance. So I take, with all Duty, most Humble leave of your Grace.

From Paris *April* 9. 1509.

Copied out by the Author's Original, and finished

Octob. 2. *An.* MDCXIII.

FINIS.